



Karma and Punishment: Prison Chaplaincy in Japan from the Meiji Period to the Present

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*Karma and Punishment:
Prison Chaplaincy in Japan from the Meiji Period to the Present*

A dissertation presented by

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to

The Committee for the Study of Religion

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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes prison chaplaincy (*kyōkai*) in Japan from the Meiji period (1868-1912) to the present day focusing on the chaplaincy activities of Shin Buddhist sects, Christian churches, Shintō shrines, and new religions like Tenrikyō. The sources for this study are drawn from archival research, interviews with chaplains, and site visits to prisons and religious institutions. I argue that the Japanese model of prison chaplaincy is rooted in the Pure Land Buddhist concept of doctrinal remonstrance. I trace the history of Japanese prison chaplaincy by examining the development of chaplaincy discourse and the politics surrounding it. I found the discourse of chaplaincy to be a form of theodicy that derives an existential meaning from the crime and rehabilitation process. The chief limitation of this discourse is that its interpretation of crime focuses solely on the private troubles of individuals without considering criminal conduct as a reflection of broader public issues. An analysis of the politics surrounding the prison chaplaincy shows that the development of chaplaincy reflects the changing place of religion in Japanese society. Religion has been conceived as both a private affair and a public benefit that the state has a vested interest in promoting. The chaplaincy reflects both of these qualities in that chaplains are specialists in matters of the heart whose work is thought to contribute to the peace. I found that the practices of individual chaplains exceed the limitations of their discourse as they attempt to help their charges as best they can, often going beyond the requirements of their official responsibilities.

Contents

1 Prison Chaplaincy in Japan: Karma, <i>Kokoro</i> , and <i>Kyōkai</i>	1
2 Admonishing the Heretics: Shin Buddhists and the Incarceration of the Urakami Christians	55
3 Establishing the Vocation: From the Great Promulgation Campaign to the Prison Chaplaincy	89
4 The Role of the Chaplain: Buddhism, Christianity, and Prison Religion in Meiji Japan	143
5 Prison Chaplaincy for the Postwar Period: Universalizing <i>Kyōkai</i>	203
6 The Public and Private Lives of Prison Chaplains	258
7 Conclusions	322
8 Appendix A: Honganji-ha <i>Prison Chaplaincy</i> Journal Index (1892-3)	326
9 Appendix B: Index to the Prewar and Wartime Prison Chaplaincy Journals (1925-43)	333
10 Appendix C: Field Notes from a Tenrikyō Group Religious Chaplaincy Session	353
11 Appendix D: Transcript of an Interview with Hirano Toshioki (Death Row Chaplain)	362
12 List of Abbreviations	379
13. Bibliography	380

For Kyoko and Lisa

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Chapter 1

Prison Chaplaincy in Japan:

Karma, *Kokoro*, and *Kyōkai*

Introduction¹

This dissertation analyzes prison chaplaincy (教誨 *Kyōkai*) in Japan from the Meiji period (1868-1912) to the present day focusing on the chaplaincy activities of Jōdo Shinshū (浄土真宗) (commonly referred to as Shin Buddhism), Christian sects, and a host of other Buddhist and Shinto groups as well as new religions like Tenrikyō (天理教).² The sources for this study are drawn from archival research, interviews with chaplains, and site visits to prisons and religious institutions.

This work engages with studies of secularization and law, a trend of recent interventions in secularization theory represented by the works of Winnifred Sullivan and Talal Asad. The project covers a period from 1868 until 2016. This span of time includes the infrastructural changes associated with modernization as well as nation building, imperialism, war, occupation, rebuilding, the economic boom, and the post-bubble era. Over the course of all of these transformations, the religious landscape has shifted too: the anti-Buddhist movement,³ the ending of the ban on Christianity,⁴ the rise and fall of

¹It is important to note at the outset that although I will use the terms “prison chaplaincy” and “prison chaplain” for convenience to refer to *kyōkai* (教誨) and *kyōkaishi* (教誨師) in this essay, the term *kyōkai* has a history in Buddhist sutra literature. The term is not merely a Japanese rendering of European words for chaplaincy. This issue is discussed at length later in this chapter and elsewhere in this dissertation.

² Other sects are also discussed to add comparative perspective, particularly in the fieldwork chapters.

³ Grapard (1984), 240-265.

State Shintō,⁵ the explosive growth and subsequent decline of New Religions,⁶ and a general shift from “salvation to spirituality” in the current marketplace of religions.⁷ 2012 and 2016 editions of the *Journal of Religion in Japan* reflect the master narrative of the state of Japanese religions in the 21st century: Japan is a “post-secular society.”⁸ Prison chaplains have been present throughout all of these transformations, and their location—as agents of both religion and the state—makes them an excellent subject for research into the history of religion and law in Japan.⁹

The examination of the interactions between religion and law is particularly important for understanding modern Japanese religious life because all religious institutions in Japan have been affected by state policies—most notably two separate constitutions. As a short-hand, one can divide the history of modern Japan into two periods, each inaugurated by a constitution. The emperor-centered Meiji Constitution of 1889 (大日本帝国憲法 *Dai Nippon Teikoku Kenpō*) provided for limited religious freedom.¹⁰ This foundation enabled the subsequent legal, cultural and ideological development of State Shintō (国家神道 *Kokka Shintō*) and ultimately made possible an

⁴ Nosco (2007), 85-97.

⁵ Hardacre (1989); Murakami (1970); Shimazono (2010).

⁶ Some representative works in this area include: Dorman (2012); Hardacre (1984, 1986); Inoue (1991); Murakami (1980); Staemmler and Dehn (2011); Stalker (2008); Shimazono, (2005); Yasumaru (1999).

⁷ Shimazono (2005), 53-67.

⁸ Fujiwara (2016), Reader (2012).

⁹ Sullivan argues that chaplains are the “priest[s] of the secular.” Sullivan (2014), 3.

¹⁰ Article 28 guarantees religious freedom “within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects.”

atmosphere of religious and cultural suppression.¹¹ The Postwar Constitution of 1946 (日本国憲法 *Nihon-Koku Kenpō*) is both the basis of Japan's current liberal democracy and the foundation of Japanese religious freedom (信教の自由 *shinkyō no jiyū*) and the separation of religion from state (政教分離 *seikyō bunri*).¹² The historical reality of these fundamental legal transformations must be the basis for thinking about secularization and law in Japan.

Rather than focusing directly on debates about these constitutions and constitutionalism, my study views these events from an oblique angle by looking to the structuring influence of religio-legal formations in the criminal justice system. By taking such an approach, this study of prison chaplaincy continues the tradition of anthropological studies of law and crime that attempt to account for a *nomos* or normative order based on empirical observations.¹³ Recent research on the relationship between religion and the management of crime highlights connections between culturally-situated modes of administering justice and religious values or religion-based reform programs.¹⁴ There is significant common ground between recent studies of prison

¹¹ Hardacre (1989), Murakami (1982), Sakamoto (1993), Shimazono (2009) have all written extensively about State Shintō. There is much debate about the extent to which State Shintō policies actually favored shrine priests themselves, but I am in agreement with Shimazono that there is no doubting the term's applicability to the dominant ideological mode in Japan at least from the 1920s until the end of the war.

¹² Article 20 and Article 89.

¹³ The subset of anthropology of law concerned with crime has a long history. Bronislaw Malinowski's *Crime and Custom in a Savage Society* (1926) presents an ethnographic account of northwest Melanesia and represents one of the foundational texts in this field. Building on the work of Marcel Mauss, Malinowski argues that "each community has [...] a weapon for the enforcement of its rights: reciprocity." See Malinowski (1985), 23.

¹⁴ Becci (2016), Beckford and Gilliat-Ray (1998), Beckford, Joly and Khosokhavar (2005), Dubler (2013), Foucault (1995), Graber (2010), Pandian (2009), Sullivan (2009), (2014).

religion in Europe and America and the latest research on secularity in Japan.¹⁵ Both of these directions in current research serve to question the margins between religion and the law of the secular state, casting doubt on our ability to neatly define boundaries between these two mutually constitutive realms. By highlighting the entanglements of religion and law, we reconsider how religion has come to be naturalized and assumed as a human universal. To do so is to ask how religion is imagined, governed, and practiced in modern societies.

Thesis

I consider the role of religion (宗教 *shūkyō*) in the Japanese correctional system (矯正 *kyōsei*) through an examination of the prison chaplaincy (教誨 *kyōkai*) to reveal a model of religion-based reform that is structured by law, grounded in the disciplinary knowledge of corrections, and rooted in the particularities of Japan's own religious history. *I argue that the Japanese model of prison chaplaincy is rooted in the Pure Land Buddhist concept of doctrinal remonstrance.* This model of chaplaincy relies on 1.) conceptions of the human and 2.) frameworks of moral responsibility drawn from the soteriological framework of Shin Buddhism.¹⁶ In the discourse of the chaplaincy, these

¹⁵Isomae (2014) and Josephson (2012) present genealogical investigations of the construction of a secular/religious divide in modern Japan. Maxey (2014) provides a historical account of the complex international pressures that shaped the construction of religion in late 19th century Japan.

¹⁶I do not claim that religion is the only factor that has influenced the development of correctional theory and practice in Japan. However, the role of religion in corrections has not received scholarly attention save for a handful of preliminary historical essays published in Japanese in the 1950s. Some of these are reprinted in Yoshida (1991).

two themes find expression in the language of *kokoro*¹⁷ (心 lit. “heart”) and karma (業 *gō*).¹⁸ *Kokoro* here refers to theories of subjectivity expressed in metaphors of the “heart.” By karma, I am gesturing to the underlying doctrinal system, the law of cause and effect, that frames the ethical discourse of the prison chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*). Though not all prison chaplains are Buddhist, it is an essential component of the theology of each sect to provide a religious interpretation of crime. These various theologies are all influenced by the legacy of the Buddhist model of theodicy that was adopted by the Meiji period prison chaplains who looked to the theory of karma to account for the existence of evil.

The third term in my analysis expresses the relation between *kokoro* and karma, and it is the concept of prison chaplaincy or *kyōkai* itself. The word *kyōkai* that comes to mean prison chaplaincy is adapted from the Buddhist term *kyōke* (also written 教誨). *Kyōke* means “doctrinal remonstrance.”¹⁹ This *kyōke* is a teaching practice for purifying a transgressor’s heart so as to bring that person’s thoughts, words, and deeds into harmony with the karmic laws of cause and effect. Whatever additional valences may be relevant to the term, by the time the practice of *kyōkai* (prison chaplaincy) develops in the Meiji period, it is a religio-legal concept. *Kyōkai* is not only a secular form of “correction.” The term implies metaphysics, soteriology, and theodicy. We may regard the birth of

¹⁷ I intend to problematize this term throughout, so I leave it untranslated. It can be translated as heart, mind, soul, spirit, consciousness, or self. See Sagara (1995), 112.

¹⁸ Buddhist chaplains employ a host of terms to express the concept of karma: law of cause and effect (因果報 *inga ōhō*) and bonds (縁 *en*) are two of the most prominent examples that will recur throughout this study.

¹⁹ The Nakamura dictionary of Buddhist terms gives the simple definition “to teach and remonstrate” (教えさとす *oshiesatosu*). I expand upon this definition based on a close-reading of the term in context shortly. See NBKJ (1985).

prison chaplaincy in Japan as part of a broader effort by the Buddhist temple establishment to renegotiate Japan's longstanding tradition of unity of the Dharma and the (secular) law of the sovereign (王法仏法 *ōbō buppō*) at a time when the place of Buddhism in Japanese society was cast into doubt.²⁰ The historical legacy of the prison chaplaincy is of particular relevance today because it informs the structure of the correctional system, providing the backbone to an alternative model of prison religion than those found in other societies.

Sources

This dissertation is based on data drawn from archival research and fieldwork conducted in Japan in the summers of 2011, 2012, 2013, and during an extended period of fieldwork from June of 2014 until August of 2016. The primary archival materials include texts produced by the National Chaplains' Union (全国教誨師連盟 *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei*) and sectarian publications. In addition to secondary literature, I read chaplaincy manuals, how-to guides, case books, and vocational journals written for the chaplaincy. I conducted formal interviews with thirty-five individuals (including prison chaplains and other correctional professionals and volunteers) in the Tokyo and Kansai areas and benefited from countless conversations and informal social gatherings with many more members of chaplains' unions over two years. During my extended research trip, I participated in chaplains' study retreats (in Tokyo, Kyoto, Tenri, and Mt. Kōya) and joined the monthly meetings of the editorial board for the new edition of the standard

²⁰ For more on the discourse of the unity of the Dharma and the law of the sovereign, see Kuroda (2001), 22-35.

chaplains' manual held at the National Chaplains' Union Office in Tokyo. Finally, I visited chaplains in their temples and churches in Tokyo, Saitama, and Chiba, and I observed chaplaincy sessions in four Tokyo area correctional facilities (Kawagoe Juvenile Prison, Fuchū Prison, Tachikawa Jail, and Tokyo Jail).²¹

The primary bibliography is composed of sources from the archives of Jōdo Shinshū at Ryūkoku University, Tenrikyō at Tenri University, the National Library of Corrections in Tokyo (矯正図書館 *Kyōsei Toshokan*), and typically non-circulating sectarian training materials received directly from chaplains of various affiliations.²² The major sources include: documents relating to the Great Promulgation Campaign (大教宣布運動 *taikyō senpu undō*) of the Meiji period,²³ vocational journals for chaplains and correctional officers,²⁴ sectarian journals,²⁵ instructional and historical works by and for chaplains,²⁶ chaplaincy manuals,²⁷ prison literature,²⁸ legal documents,²⁹ and the records of the former secret police.³⁰

²¹ 川越少年刑務所 *Kawagoe Shōnen'in* 府中刑務所 *Fuchū Keimusho* 立川拘置所 *Tachikawa Kōchisho* 東京拘置所 *Tōkyō Kōchisho*.

²² Most chaplains' manuals fall into the category of non-circulating texts. The *Jinja Honchō* manual, the *Shingon* manual, and the *Sōtō* sect manual are examples.

²³ The writings of Shimaji Mokurai and the training manuals for Buddhist national instructors (*kyōdōshoku*) are examples of this type of text. These are discussed in chapter three.

²⁴ Various journals have been published, the earliest appearing in 1892. *Kangoku Kyōkai*, *Kangoku Kyōkai Zasshi*, *Keisei*, *Kyōkai Gyōsho*, *Kyōkai Jiron*, *Kyōkai Kenkyū*, *Kyōkai to Hogo*. In the postwar period: *Hitoya no Tomo*, *Kyōkai*, *Tenrikyō Kyōkaishi Renmei Renmei Hō*.

²⁵ Shin Buddhism: *Seikyō Jihō*, *Kyūdō*, *Shinkai Kengen* (published from 1899). Tenrikyō: *Michi no Tomo* (published from 1891), *Yōki*, *Tenrikyō Shakai Fukushi Kenkyū*. United Church of Christ in Japan (UCCJ, 日本キリスト教団 *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan*): *Hitoya no Tomo*.

²⁶ *Kyōkai Hyakunen* (1972, 2 volumes—hereafter *KKHN*), *Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai Shi* (1927, 2 volumes—hereafter *NKKS*).

Theory

This work employs the methods of discourse analysis, institutional history, history of law, and anthropology to investigate historically and ethnographically the mutually involved ways of law and religion by examining prison chaplaincy in Japan.³¹ My reading strategy is informed by Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) archaeology of knowledge, particularly his research on the clinical gaze, the birth of the prison, and governmentality.³² To use his term, I examine the emergence of new “discursive objects” such as “religious freedom” (信教の自由 *shinkyō no jiyū*), “thought crimes” (思想犯 *shisōhan*), “pseudo-religions” (類似宗教 *ruiji shūkyō*), and “problems of the heart” (心の問題 *kokoro no mondai*). I investigate how these concepts authorize certain ways of living while rendering others the object of legal and religious interventions: imprisonment and spiritual counseling. This methodology serves to reveal strategies of knowledge and power that make possible the clinical expertise of the chaplaincy.

²⁷ Some examples include the Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha *Kyōkaishi Hikkei* hensan iinkai (2003), Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei *Kyōkai Manyuaru* hensan iinkai (1993), and the *Tenrikyō Kyōkai no Tebiki* hensan iinkai (1993). These are discussed in chapter six.

²⁸ Examples include Hanayama (1982, 1995) and Horikawa (2014).

²⁹ Meiji Constitution (1889); Preserving Order Police Law (*Chian Keisatsu Hō* 1900); The Peace Preservation Law (*Chian Ijihō* 1925); The Thought Crime Probation Law (*Shisōhan Hogo Kansatsu Hō* 1936); Religious Organizations Law (*Shūkyō Dantai Hō* 1939); The Judicial Probation Law (*Shihōhogo Jigyō Hō* 1939); Postwar Constitution (1947); Religious Corporations Law (*Shūkyō Hōjin Hō* 1952).

³⁰ There are three standard works for researching the secret police: the Secret Police Monthly, *Tokkō Geppō*, editions from 1930-1944 have been reprinted in Akashi and Matsu'ura, ed. (1977 8 vols.), and Shakai Mondai Shiryō Kenkyūkai, ed. (1973 5 vols.), and Shakai no Kagaku Kenkyūkai, ed. (2000 3 vols.).

³¹ Sullivan, Yelle, and Tausig-Rubbo (2011) refer to “always mutually involved ways of law and religion.” (3). I have borrowed this phrasing here.

³² See Foucault (1995).

Foucault's theoretical insights are suited to the subject matter: chaplaincy represents a way of knowing and seeing grounded in both the methodologies of the human sciences (criminology) and the ethics of religious discourse. As we will see, the history of the chaplaincy is deeply connected with issues of surveillance, discipline, and subject formation. At the same time, because Foucault's work deals with the specificities of his European location and because of the inherent limitations of his exclusive focus on discourse, my own research will diverge from his in several ways.

Although I draw inspiration from Foucault's approach, my interest extends beyond the level of abstract discourse to include both individual biographies and concrete institutions.³³ This project therefore investigates the historical development of particular institutions (religious organizations, correctional facilities, and the prewar training institute established by the Honganji and Ōtani branches of Shin Buddhism). These institutions are connected to particular lineages of chaplains that continue today. A consideration of institutional history will connect the biographies of present day chaplains (interview subjects) to those of their predecessors. The study of institutional history requires the study of legal history. The transformations of the institutions in question have been driven by the development of the Japanese legal system, including the 1889 and the 1947 constitutions and the body of regulations detailing the duties of the chaplaincy.

³³ The attempt to supplement Foucault's focus on discourse with considerations of the role of people and concrete institutions is inspired by Edward Said's approach: "[U]nlike Michel Foucault, [...] I do believe in the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts constituting a discursive formation" Said (2003), 23.

The fieldwork component of this dissertation is guided by Geertz’s strategy of “thick description”³⁴ and Michael D. Jackson’s existential anthropological method.³⁵ Site visits to prisons reveal a world of heavily ritualized interactions, and the stories and sermons³⁶ told by chaplains draw on the narrative repertoire of Buddhist, Christian, Shintō, and Tenrikyō literature. Thick description informed by archival research and interviews will illuminate the cultural significance of phenomena like prison sutra-copying (写経 *shakyō*) and Shintō purification rites (お祓い *oharai*) and also highlight connections and tensions between official sectarian doctrines and the actual practice of individual chaplains.

The methods of cultural anthropology require a theoretical framework to make sense of agency. The theoretical underpinnings of my own endeavor are informed by Jackson’s existential anthropology and its focus on the intersubjective realm of action and experience through the analysis of storytelling and ritualization. These processes can be interpreted as both social and intrapsychic. People draw on the available cultural resources (“discursive idioms”) for a host of reasons: to put a public face on private experience, to mediate relations between self and other, to draw connections between the individual life and a larger framework of meaning, and to retain a vital sense of agency in the face of often disempowering circumstances.³⁷ This methodology recommends itself because my project seeks to link biographies of individual chaplains to the history of chaplaincy in Japan—and this history itself is largely one of coercion and unequal power

³⁴ On thick description, see Geertz (1973), 3-30.

³⁵ Jackson (2002, 2005).

³⁶ Or Dharma talks (法話 *Hōwa*), often simply referred to as *Kyōkai*.

³⁷ Jackson (2002), chapter 1.

relations. By employing the interpretive strategies of existential anthropology, I hope to reveal some of the reasons *why* the stories and rituals of the chaplaincy take the forms that they do. For example, what role do chaplains play in executions? How do they talk about—or avoid talking about—this aspect of their work? And how do some chaplains reconcile their apparent reluctance to participate in executions with the inability to refuse to do so?

Method

In conducting archival research and interviews, particular attention has been paid to the role of some key concepts that roughly fall into four categories: 1.) visions of morality and interpretations of crime; 2.) conceptions of personhood and the role of religion in the good life, 3.) articulations of formal responsibilities of the chaplaincy, and 4.) statements of the religious or existential meaning of the work of chaplaincy itself. In the pre-war materials, some key concepts are expressed in terms like evil doctrines, superstition, pseudo-religions, non-religious, thought crimes, faith, repentance, and salvation.³⁸ In the postwar period, human rights, spiritual care, counseling, separation of religion from state, and religious freedom become the dominant terms of chaplaincy discourse.³⁹ Interview questions address a range of issues including the chaplain's individual biographies, training, responsibilities, chaplain-client relationships, relationships with prison staff and other chaplains, opinions about the role of religion in society and the history of chaplaincy, and beliefs about the efficacy of chaplaincy and

³⁸ 邪教 *Jakyō*, 迷信 *meishin*, 類似宗教 *ruiji shūkyō*, 無宗教 *mushūkyō*, 思想犯 *shisōhan*, 信仰 *shinkō*, 懺悔 *zange*, 救済 *kyūsai*.

³⁹ 人權 *Jinken*, 心のケア *kokoro no kea*, カウンセリング *kaunseringu*, 政教分離 *seikyō bunri*, 信教の自由 *shinkyō no jiyū*.

religion as means of character reform. During site visits, I paid particular attention to chaplain-client interactions, rituals, texts used during chaplaincy sessions, and the content of sermons.

The fieldwork component of my research complements the archival research by complicating the relationship between persons and texts. Because there is so little secondary literature about prison chaplaincy in Japan, we must rely on official documents produced by chaplains, religious organizations, and government officials. In the field, I observed that the official doctrines or theologies of various organizations and the actions and statements of individual chaplains often conflict.⁴⁰ This tension suggests that the dominant discourse of the official story presented in most readily available archival materials provides only a limited perspective on chaplaincy.⁴¹ Interviews and a handful of privately published written records shed light on a demotic discourse, one which is censored or suppressed and thus remains private.⁴²

In Japan, the distinction between the public and private dimensions of an individual's life may be expressed in terms of the classical Confucian division between a person's public (公 *kō*) and private (私 *shi*) roles.⁴³ The public designates the responsibilities of official station, whereas the private may be regarded as the realm of personal life, family, and the home. Chaplains serve in their official capacities as representatives of religious organizations and also state institutions, and the official

⁴⁰ I am aware that the term theology carries connotations that do not necessarily apply to all of the religious groups I discuss, with Buddhism being a prime example. I employ the term here as shorthand to refer to the system(s) of metaphysical or religious doctrines expressed by the chaplaincy.

⁴¹ See Jackson (2002), 27.

⁴² The most notable work of this kind is Horikawa (2014).

⁴³ For a discussion of the division between public and private in early Japanese history, see Hardacre (2017), 61-4.

records of the chaplaincy reflect the perspectives appropriate to public station. However, the reality is that some chaplains struggle with the tension between their public role and its institutional obligations on the one hand and their own private opinions on the other. In the world of the chaplaincy, the distinction between that which is acceptable for public consumption and that which must remain unspoken is mediated by prison regulations and an unwritten code. Death row, for example, is not to be discussed publicly.⁴⁴ Those who talk will be relieved of their responsibilities.⁴⁵ By recognizing the moral dilemmas that chaplains encounter we may hope to provide a more accurate picture of the chaplaincy than is available through official records alone. We may also hope to learn more about the role of secrecy in the preservation of traditions in modernity.⁴⁶

Contributions to Scholarship

Secularization and Law

Max Weber and Michel Foucault, two of the great theorists of modernization, investigate the rise of disciplinary society in Europe.⁴⁷ Foucault looks to transformations in the ways of knowing and strategies of governing humanity, and Weber proposes that the origins of modern capitalist society stem from “disenchantment” (Ger.,

⁴⁴ Chaplains refer to a duty to secrecy (守秘義務 *shuhi gimu*). I heard this phrase from a number of chaplains during my interviews.

⁴⁵ In the afterword to Horikawa (2014), she cites the example of chaplains being stripped of their status due to outspoken criticism of death row. In my own interviews, two separate chaplains confirmed that such things have happened.

⁴⁶ My understanding of the role of secrecy in Japanese religious traditions is indebted to the collection edited by Scheid and Teeuwen (2006).

⁴⁷ O’Neill (1986). “The formidable works of Weber and Foucault may be considered in terms of their convergence upon a single question, namely, what are the techniques by which man has subjected himself to the rational discipline of the applied human sciences (law, medicine, economics, education, and administration)?” (42).

Entzauberung), a process that arose from developments internal to Latin Christendom in the wake of the Protestant Reformation.⁴⁸ Bellah famously applied a version of this Weberian theory to the Japanese case,⁴⁹ and although scholars today find Bellah's argument highly problematic,⁵⁰ the tradition of Weberian sociology remains strong in Japan. For example, Shimazono has published widely about the relationship between Japan's secular society and the new religions and spirituality movements that have emerged within it.⁵¹ There is a general scholarly consensus that, quantitatively, Japan has witnessed its own secularization, understood as a general decline in the membership, influence, financial clout, and prestige of religious organizations.⁵² However, secularization is a term burdened with a multiplicity of qualitative meanings,⁵³ and the cultural, historical, and religious significance of Japanese secularization or secularity remains a matter of debate.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Weber (2009). According to Max Weber's secularization narrative, secular legal, economic, bureaucratic, and scientific spheres emerge from the religious. This is made possible by the diffusion of a religious orientation conducive to the emergence of capitalism. That value orientation corresponds to the ideal type known as "This-Worldly Asceticism." The Protestant work ethic exemplifies this orientation. Thus, for Weber, the Reformation planted the seed of secularization in Euro-American cultures.

⁴⁹ Bellah (1985, originally published in 1957) maintains that Japan's rapid and successful modernization can in part be attributed to the Confucian ethic of the Tokugawa period, which encouraged character traits conducive to capitalism ("This-Worldly Asceticism.")

⁵⁰ On Bellah, see Ōtani, Yoshinaga, and Kondō (2016), 16. On the adaptation of Weberian theories of religion in Japan more generally, see Hayashi, Yamanaka, and Swanson (1993).

⁵¹ Shimazono (2005) argues that Japan, unlike Europe, did not see the diffusion of elite secular values, but rather the eruption of the religion of the masses into large-scale social movements (Tenrikyō, Sōka Gakkai, etc).

⁵² Reader (2012).

⁵³ Beckford (2003) identifies six types of secularization theory (see chapter two).

⁵⁴ See Fujiwara (2016) for an overview of these debates and the rest of the 2016 edition of the *Journal of Religion in Japan* for a sampling of a range of perspectives from leading Japanese academics.

The application of qualitative secularization theories to the case of Japan is complicated by the fact that some major theories designed to account for the secularization of historically Christian cultures do not seem applicable to Japan. For example, Charles Taylor argues that secularization in the West means that we moderns find ourselves increasingly concerned with immanent affairs, with our minds turned away from the transcendent.⁵⁵ Whatever the merits may be for this interpretation of Latin Christendom, this line of argument has not proven influential in the interpretation of Japanese culture.⁵⁶ To the contrary, it seems completely alien when we recall that the mainstream of Japanese religious life has long been a practical pursuit for most.⁵⁷

In light of this impasse, a recent wave of interventions in secularization theory from scholars of religion and law⁵⁸ is a most welcome development for students of Japanese religion in that these works offer possibilities for those who want to think comparatively about secularization. The common denominator in these lines of research is that they problematize the concept of "secular law" by reexamining the legal construction of a secular public sphere and a privatized religious realm. In the field of Japanese religions, recent scholarship takes up similar issues by re-examining the historical development of the concept of religion (宗教 *shūkyō*) in Japan. For example,

⁵⁵ Taylor (2007).

⁵⁶ As of November of 2016, there is not a Japanese translation of Taylor's *A Secular Age* (2007).

⁵⁷ See Reader and Tanabe (1998). "The assumption that searching for this-worldly benefits and using practices linked to magic and materialism are characteristic of false religions not only gives a pejorative reading of the new religions but also misrepresents the nature of Buddhism and other religious traditions. [...] [T]he promise of this-worldly benefits is an intrinsic element within Japanese religion in general. To a great extent the materialism and economics of worldly benefits are in fact typical of Japanese religion, including Buddhism, and, if the matter were to be pursued further, of religion in general." (8).

⁵⁸ Asad (2003), Sullivan, Taussig-Rubbo, and Yelle, (2011), Sullivan (2014).

Jason Josephson investigates governmental attempts to circumscribe a religious realm,⁵⁹ and Hoshino Seiji examines the construction of religion in the discourse of religionists.⁶⁰ This dissertation joins these conversations by asking how indigenous terms from Buddhist praxis (like *kyōkai*) come to be incorporated in the translation and adaptation of imported human sciences like criminology, penology, and psychology to produce an ostensibly secular Japanese rehabilitative discourse.⁶¹ Is the secular in Japan somehow structured by the inherited legacy of the Buddhist past? What can Japan's secular/religious divide tell us about the process of legal separation of religion from state in general? Although prisons are officially secular spaces, is there a lingering Buddhist influence in Japanese prisons? Does Japan have its own form of prison religion? If so, does it resemble other forms of prison religion seen elsewhere in the world, and what might that tell us about prisons as one of the universal and paradigmatic institutions of modernity? The task for this dissertation is to consider Japanese prison chaplaincy as part of broader, global trends in secularization while situating that trend in the particularities of modern Japan.

Japanese Religions

For much of Japanese history, religion and law functioned as one. Scholars in Japanese studies have explored the indivisibility of religious and legal authority by

⁵⁹ Josephson (2012).

⁶⁰ Hoshino (2012).

⁶¹ The genealogy of contemporary chaplaincy is structured by the particularities of local history: the legacy of the Japanese Buddhist tradition with its multifaceted theories of personhood, salvation, and praxis; the impact of State Shintō and its nationalistic utopian political philosophy; and the history of conflict between New Religious Movements and the central government.

tracing the history of key political concepts: “unity of rites and government” (祭政一致 *saisei ichi*) and “the Law and the Dharma” (王法仏法 *ōbō buppō*).⁶² My study of the chaplaincy continues this line of inquiry by presenting new data and applying theoretical insights from the study of religion and law in order to reveal broader patterns of religious life and political culture in contemporary Japan. Three key dynamics to be explored are: 1.) the importation and adaptation of Western knowledge and practices; 2.) the intermingling of legal and secular cosmologies and anthropologies; and 3.) competition between religious groups—for believers, prestige, and finances.

This project seeks to answer a number of questions of importance for scholars of Japanese religions. What role did Christianity play in bringing chaplaincy to Japan?⁶³ How did the importation of western sciences (particularly human sciences like penology and criminology) impact the modernization of Jōdo Shinshū doctrine?⁶⁴ What role did Jōdo Shinshū chaplains play in the re-education of thought criminals during the early Shōwa period, and why is this history important for understanding Japanese religions today? What was the significance of the Thought Criminal Probation Law of 1936? How did Tenrikyō transform itself from a persecuted organization under police surveillance into a recognized leader in the fields of social work, chaplaincy, and rehabilitation

⁶² In English research literature, the touchstone work on the unity of the Buddhist law and the law of the sovereign is reflected by translations of the works of Kuroda Toshio in the *JRS* (1996).

⁶³ Ishizuka points out that a national chaplaincy system was imported along with German jurisprudence in the 1890s. The pre-war period saw a near monopoly on chaplaincy granted to Jōdo Shinshū. Ishizuka maintains that this arrangement developed because bureaucrats favored the German model and regarded its exclusive reliance on chaplains from the Lutheran church as evidence that religious monopoly on chaplaincy could be advantageous (in Akaike and Ishizuka 2011) 123-145.

⁶⁴ The importation of scientific knowledge challenged Japanese Buddhist epistemology. One of the founders of Buddhist social work, Kiyozawa Manshi sought to develop a rational, engaged Buddhism compatible with science and not reliant on a Christian theological theory of subjectivity. To this end, he studied the works of the Stoic Epictetus side by side with Shinran’s works. See Yoshida (1961), 102-105.

programs?⁶⁵ What role did GHQ play in the development of chaplaincy?⁶⁶ What is the significance of chaplaincy today?

Defining Key Concepts

The remainder of this introductory chapter is devoted to an explication of the key terms and concepts used throughout the dissertation: chaplaincy, karma, *kokoro*, and *kyōkai*. These four concepts are critical to an understanding of the place of prison chaplains in Japan's correctional system, and each term carries a multiplicity of meanings. With the exception of *kyōkai* itself, three of these key terms have been the subject of considerable scholarly attention. Without attempting a comprehensive overview of scholarly engagement with each concept, I provide here a basic summary of the key concepts and situate them in the context of Japanese religions.

Varieties of Chaplaincy

Today, *kyōkai* is translated simply as “prison chaplaincy.” However, this translation obscures both the history and doctrinal specificity of the concept. Each chapter of this dissertation represents an attempt to restore some aspect of the history and particularity of the prison chaplaincy in Japan. I noted above that the doctrinal term *kyōkai* which finds its way into correctional discourse is adapted from a Buddhist term that means “doctrinal remonstrance.” The term is not simply a neologism derived to

⁶⁵ It would be difficult to overstate the significance of Nakayama Shōzen, the second *Shinbashira*, in building the Tenrikyō organization and steering it through the period of suppression and war. Part of this story is told in *Tenrikyō Shūkaishi Hensan Iinkai, ed.* (1992, 3 volumes). Shōzen was also instrumental in initiating Tenrikyō social work programs, including the chaplaincy.

⁶⁶ In 1947, the second year of the Occupation, the civil service was overhauled and prison officers were no longer allowed to serve as chaplains. GHQ outsourced chaplaincy services to private religionists. See Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei, ed. (2006), 87.

translate European notions of “chaplaincy” into the Japanese language. For this reason, the standard translation produces a false equivalence with Euro-American versions of chaplaincy. This is not to say that Euro-American forms of chaplaincy have not had an influence in Japan. As we will see, the forms of prison chaplaincy found in Japan have always been hybrid practices built from the confluence of imported influences and native traditions. We can see the influence of imported European ways of knowing and techniques of governance in the incorporation of the human sciences (like criminology and its statistical methodologies) and also in the theologically-inclined discourses about the role of religion in correctional reform.⁶⁷ On the other hand, indigenous traditions of religion-state relations are reflected in the history of chaplaincy most clearly in the form of variations on a longstanding Buddhist discourse of the unity of the Dharma and the law of the state (王法仏法 *Ōbō Buppō*).⁶⁸ In this section, I attempt to unpack these entangled elements to reveal similarities and differences between Japanese prison chaplaincy (*kyōkai*) and other forms of chaplaincy.

Chaplaincies share a host of common features, the most immediately salient of which being their location in a secular host institution which provides the context for chaplains’ interactions with clients.⁶⁹ Japanese prison chaplaincy is not an exception to this general characterization of chaplaincies as institutionalized forms of religious

⁶⁷ On the importation of criminology and penal sciences in Japan, see Botsman (2007), 191-200.

⁶⁸ Kuroda (2001).

⁶⁹ See Sullivan (2014), ix. “A significant amount of religious work is performed by chaplains who do not necessarily routinely publicly identify themselves with a particular religious community but who do their work rather within secular institutions caring for persons with whom they may not share a common religious creed or practice. Their clients are persons with whom they are temporarily brought together for other reasons—reasons such as war, sickness, crime, employment, education, or disaster—persons who may be of any religious affiliation or none. These professional encounters are spread across the secular landscape of contemporary life.”

vocation. However, the theological basis for the Japanese prison chaplaincy is not primarily structured by the inheritance of Christianity, and so the doctrinal and practical aspects of their enterprise differ markedly from what we see in America, for example. In an important study of the variety of forms of chaplaincy (military, hospital, prison, and beyond) in the U.S., Winnifred Sullivan argues that although chaplains today hail from a diverse range of religious groups, American chaplains generally understand their practice as “ministry of presence,” a form of “empathic spiritual care[,] [a] religion without metaphysics [yet] deeply rooted in a specific Christian theology of the Incarnation.”⁷⁰ Sullivan continues: “The word ‘presence’ does the double work of suggesting nonimposition of a particular religious perspective while also expressing a very Christian understanding of the significance of suffering in the economy of salvation.”⁷¹ One implication of her study is that in the U.S., despite the apparent diversity of religions represented in the various chaplaincies (Jewish hospital chaplaincy, humanist university chaplaincy, Buddhist prison chaplaincy, Protestant park service chaplaincy), the whole range of practices is structured by the inherited, dominant model of Christian chaplaincy. Sullivan argues that the variety of American chaplaincies have been shaped by common cultural and legal requirements so that they may all be understood as variations on the practice of “ministry of presence.”⁷² Taking Sullivan’s argument as a departure point, we may well ask: what does the word *kyōkai* (“doctrinal remonstrance”) suggest about the “imposition of a particular religious perspective?” Does it express a Buddhist

⁷⁰ Sullivan (2014), 174.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁷² See *ibid.*, 188. “[For Muslim chaplains], presence is understood to be the will of Allah, as exemplified by the Prophet.”

understanding of the significance of suffering in an “economy of salvation?” Are all forms of Japanese prison chaplaincy (Tenrikyō, Shintō, Christian) structured by the inheritance of the Shin Buddhist model of *kyōkai* that was dominant from the origins of Japanese prison chaplaincy until the end of the second world war?

It is necessary to distinguish Japanese prison chaplaincy from American versions of chaplaincy. The easiest way to gesture to the scope of the difference is to note that Japanese prison chaplaincy *cannot* be understood as variations on the Christian theme of “ministry of presence” because the inherited, dominant model for prison chaplaincy is Buddhist *kyōkai* or “doctrinal remonstrance.” Before outlining the doctrinal significance of *kyōkai*, however, we must further distinguish Japanese prison chaplaincy from other forms of Japanese religious practice that are also translated into English as “chaplaincy.” The other form of Japanese chaplaincy represents a broad cross-section of emergent religious vocations that fall under the heading of spiritual care (スピリチュアルケア *supirichuaru kea*). For convenience, I refer to these here as forms of “spiritual care chaplaincy.” To be clear, these are not forms of *kyōkai* or “doctrinal remonstrance.”

Spiritual care chaplaincy includes bedside religious caregivers (臨床宗教師 *rinshō shūkyōshi*), spiritual caregivers (スピリチュアルケア師 *supirichuaru kea shi*), clinical attentive listeners (臨床傾聴師 *rinshō keichōshi*), hospice chaplains (ビハラー僧 *bihara sō*), and hospital workers dubbed simply “chaplains” with the *katakana* pronunciation of *chapuren* (チャプレン).⁷³ These forms of chaplaincy are practiced by religionists from a variety of traditions, and they are a distinctly postwar phenomenon.

⁷³ See Kasai (2016), Kasai and Itai (2013) for an extensive discussion of these phenomena. Timothy Benedict is a PhD candidate at Princeton writing a dissertation about hospital and hospice chaplains in Japan.

Research into these chaplaincies is in a nascent stage, but the current data suggests that some practitioners of these forms of spiritual care emphasize the importance of “being present” with their clients.⁷⁴ It remains to be seen if this modality of religious practice bears more than a superficial resemblance to the “ministry of presence” Sullivan has identified in the U.S.

Research on spiritual care work has developed in the wake of the 3.11 disaster in Tohoku. Scholars have examined the role of religionists in the recovery effort,⁷⁵ and recently a body of literature has developed around the theme of “care for the heart” (心のケア *kokoro no kea*), a neologism that can be translated as “spiritual care.”⁷⁶ Whether or not such work will become a mainstream of religious life in 21st century Japan remains uncertain, but Sophia University and Tohoku University are at the forefront of establishing vocational programs to train practitioners in this emergent field of Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE).⁷⁷ Takahashi describes such efforts as the “redistribution of religious resources to the secular sections of society,” classifying it as an example of the kinds of roles religion may play in a “post-secular” society wherein “religious agencies [...] play a newly discovered role in non-religious settings.”⁷⁸ Many key questions remain to be answered: what, precisely, is this redistribution of religious resources thought to accomplish? Without a doubt, one important answer must be related to the problem of

⁷⁴ This information is drawn from an unpublished panel paper by Timothy Benedict, a PhD student at Princeton University, for the “Religious Vocations in Japan” session at the 2016 American Academy of Religion meeting. See also Kasai (2016) on Clinical Pastoral Education.

⁷⁵ McLaughlin (2011).

⁷⁶ See Takahashi (2016), McLaughlin (2011) on spiritual care.

⁷⁷ Kasai (2016).

⁷⁸ Takahashi (2016), 194.

suffering.⁷⁹ At the same time, we may ask, who wants spiritual care and why? Clients? Religionists themselves? Or secular host institutions? Although there is a growing body of scholarship about these forms of spiritual care, they remain a marginal phenomenon, their emergence is relatively recent, and historical scholarship has yet to suggest what relationship, if any, such phenomena may have with earlier modes of Japanese religious life.

Unlike these forms of spiritual care chaplaincy, the prison chaplaincy has received little scholarly attention from students of religion despite its historical priority and its structural parallels with the more recent spiritual care chaplaincies.⁸⁰ The study of prison chaplaincy may be able to shed light on some of the many questions that remain to be answered about the history and significance of spiritual care movements in Japan.

We have now considered a variety of forms of chaplaincy, including those forms of spiritual care chaplaincy that have emerged in Japan in the postwar period and the “ministry of presence” forms of chaplaincy practiced by American chaplains. In translation, the differences between Japanese prison chaplaincy (*kyōkai*) and other forms of spiritual care chaplaincy (e.g. *chapuren*) are obscured, but the historical contexts in which these two types of chaplaincy were produced are separated by more than a century. *Chapuren* are a distinctly contemporary phenomenon, only recently emerging in Japan.⁸¹ By contrast, prison chaplaincy (*kyōkai*) activities have been conducted in Japanese

⁷⁹ The term *kokoro no kea* itself is indicative of this fact.

⁸⁰ Kanazawa and Manako in Kasai and Itai (2013) is an exception. Shigeta Shinji also submitted a dissertation on prison chaplaincy to Waseda University in 2016, and a monograph is expected to follow (personal correspondence).

⁸¹ Kasai (2016). For example, Buddhist hospice care emerged only in the 1980s. See the entry for *bihara* in Nihon Bukkyō Shakai Fukushi Gakkai (2006), 254.

prisons, jails, and forerunner facilities in some form or other since 1872.⁸² Prison chaplains are also far more numerous than spiritual care chaplains. For example, in 2012, there were estimated to be 176 hospice chaplains (ビハーラ *bihāra*) in sixty-eight palliative care facilities in Japan, and hospital chaplains are still a rarity.⁸³ By contrast, in January of 2017 there were 1,864 prison chaplains (教誨師 *kyōkaishi*) in Japan.⁸⁴ The number of prison chaplains in Japan is even 14% greater than the estimated 1,600 prison chaplains currently affiliated with the American Correctional Chaplains Association.⁸⁵ One cannot help but ask, why does Japan have so many prison chaplains?

From this general outline, we can tell that Japanese prison chaplaincy is of particular historical and cultural import for understanding the development of chaplaincies in Japan. Moreover, the fact that Japanese prison chaplaincy was founded upon the basis of Buddhist doctrines suggests that its historical development and structural characteristics will reflect a different arrangement of institutionalized religion than the “ministry of presence” model found in the U.S. We may now ask, what is the religious basis for Japanese prison chaplaincy? What are some of the major themes of Japanese religious life that the prison chaplaincy inherits?

⁸² *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 32; Botsman (2005) outlines the development of prisons in Japan more generally.

⁸³ See a report by Murase Masaaki, Higashiguchi Takashi, Sekine Ryūichi, Itō Takaaki, and Taniyama Yōzō. This is available on the website of the *Hosupisu Zaidan* or Hospice Foundation. http://www.hospat.org/assets/templates/hospat/pdf/report_2012/2012-c1.pdf (accessed 11.8.2016).

⁸⁴ *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* Website <http://kyoukaishi.server-shared.com/serviceindex1.html> (accessed 11.3.2016).

⁸⁵ “Religion in Prisons: a 50-state Survey” *Pew Forum* 2012, p. 7. A PDF version is available on the *Pew Forum* website at <http://www.pewforum.org/files/2012/03/Religion-in-Prisons.pdf> (accessed 11.3.2016).

Karma

The discourse of chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) assigns existential or religious meaning to the crime (犯罪 *hanzai*) and rehabilitation (更生 *kōsei*) process. For this reason, as a heuristic, we may understand this particular form of theology as conforming to the general patterns of theodicy: religious attempts to rationalize the existence of suffering and to resist the breakdown of meaning.⁸⁶ The doctrines of the chaplaincy offer a concept of evil and propose a strategy for liberation from the suffering brought on by the existence of that evil. The evil in question is conceived in relation to crime and its effects. The historical development and the diversity of the doctrines of the chaplaincy are covered in the body of this dissertation, but for now I will introduce some doctrinal issues at the heart of their theodicy.

Today some 640 of Japan's 1,864 prison chaplains hail from non-Buddhist sects.⁸⁷ Thus, approximately 34% of Japanese prison chaplains are not Buddhists. However, historically Buddhists have been the dominant group ministering to the incarcerated, and Buddhist groups still account for 1,220 prison chaplains, or roughly 66% of the total number. For this reason, Buddhist concepts deserve particular attention. The foundational Buddhist doctrine that informs the unique theology of the chaplaincy is one shared by all Buddhist sects: the concept of karma (“action;” Jpn. 業 *Gō*). Since the time of Weber, sociologists of religion have referred to the karma-samsara metaphysic as

⁸⁶ Berger (1967), Chapter 3 “On Theodicy.” Berger defines theodicy as follows: “Every nomos is established, over and over again, against the threat of its destruction by the anomic forces endemic to the human condition. [...] [A]nomic phenomena must not only be lived through, they must also be explained [...] in terms of the nomos established in the society in question. An explanation of these phenomena in terms of religious legitimations, of whatever degree of theoretical sophistication, may be called a theodicy.” 53.

⁸⁷ The statistics are publicly available on the website of the National Chaplains Union. *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* Website <http://kyoukaishi.server-shared.com/serviceindex1.html> (accessed 11.13.2016).

a form of highly rational, other-worldly theodicy.⁸⁸ Ultimately, my goal is to emphasize that the salvation preached by Japanese prison chaplains is not entirely or even primarily an “other-worldly” affair.⁸⁹ Chaplains’ training manuals and sermons express the view that character reform and rehabilitation are intimately entwined with metaphysical concepts of salvation. Thus, the law of the state is intertwined with the transcendent moral order in the discourse of the chaplaincy. However, in order to grasp the significance of the doctrine of karma as an organizing principle for the chaplaincy, we must have a general picture of how the doctrine of karma figures into Japanese religious life.

The concept of karma has a long history, and with no exaggeration it may be said to be foundational to all Buddhist cosmologies, soteriologies, theories of subjectivity, and ethical doctrines. Buddhist conceptions of karma take various forms, from the Pali *Dhamapadda* to the “Three Mysteries” (三密 *sanmitsu*) of Shingon,⁹⁰ medieval conceptions of the four debts (四恩 *shion*),⁹¹ the Pure Land doctrine of “merit transfer” (回向 *ekō*),⁹² and beliefs in familial or blood-based karmic ties (縁 *goen*) as are found in some Japanese new religious movements.⁹³ There are a great number of interpretations of the doctrine of karma even within the relatively limited range of Japanese Buddhism,

⁸⁸ Ibid., “Buddhism probably represents the most radical rationalization of the theoretical foundations of the karma-samsara complex, on the level of soteriology and that of its concomitant theodicy.” 67.

⁸⁹ On the distortions that have arisen due to the Weberian framing of Mahayana Buddhism as an other-worldly, irrational, and anti-modern degenerate form, see Ivy in Lopez (2005), 311-331.

⁹⁰ For a translation of Kūkai’s works on the “Three Mysteries,” see Hakeda (1972).

⁹¹ Ruppert (2001).

⁹² For debates surrounding popular beliefs about *ekō* (merit transfer to the dead), see Nara (1995).

⁹³ For a discussion of karma in the new religions, see Hardacre (1986), 30-1 and Kisala (1994).

and this dissertation adds to this list by considering theories of karma generated by and for the prison chaplaincy.

Conventional notions of karma share a host of common features.⁹⁴ In general, doctrinal interpretations of karma provide a schematic for understanding the nature of the human person by positing a moral structure to the cosmos, conceived as *samsara* (輪廻 *rinne*), the wandering through which sentient beings pass in cycles of death and rebirth in a chain of lives conditioned by greater and lesser degrees of suffering.⁹⁵ In Japan, the wheel of *samsara* has historically been conceived as being divided into six courses (六道 *rokudō*) in hierarchical order: gods (神 *kami*), humans (人間 *ningen*), asuras (修羅 *shura*), animals (畜生 *chikushō*), hungry ghosts (餓鬼 *gaki*), and creatures of hell (地獄 *jigoku*).⁹⁶ The most basic formulation of the law of karma holds that the course of one's present and future lives will be determined in accord with the quality of one's actions. Thus, volitional actions in body, speech, and mind produce positive, negative, or mixed results in this life or a subsequent existence. Buddhist teachings hold that it is through the skillful manipulation (e.g. Shingon) or transcendence (e.g. Shin sects) of the laws of karma that sentient beings can achieve the soteriological goal of liberation from suffering in *samsara*. Transgressions, by contrast, come to fruition in the form of punishments. Such punishments and their incumbent suffering are always justified because they come as the result of one's own actions.

⁹⁴ For a discussion of popular conceptions of karma, see Keyes and Daniel (1983).

⁹⁵ For the presentation of karma in this passage, I consulted the entry for *karman* in PDB (2014).

⁹⁶ See LaFleur (1986).

In subsequent chapters we will see in greater detail how chaplains' interpretations of karma have shifted over the generations since the Meiji period, but for now we will note only their general character. We may begin by noting their difference from other Japanese representations of karma. For example, though the theory of the six courses of transmigration was deeply integrated into the medieval Japanese imagination, the presentation of the law of karma that appears in prisons from the Meiji period on is relatively stripped down. The focus of the latter is not on an expansive view of the cosmos and its courses, but on the necessity of moral responsibility in the context of the nation state.⁹⁷ This formulation reflects the fact that the Buddhist prison chaplaincy may be broadly counted as a form of modernized Buddhism, focused on faith and character reform. Thus we see prison chaplains make statements like the following example from 1918: "It is without a doubt due to the fact that criminals slip outside the restraint necessitated by the law of karma that they fall into licentiousness."⁹⁸

In a strange twist, the resulting presentation of karma resembles some material found in the Pali canon. Two examples of elementary presentations of the doctrine of karma should suffice to clarify the resonance. First, *Anguttara Nikaya* presents a straightforward assessment of the relationship between karma and moral personhood or subjectivity that is immediately relevant to prison chaplaincy.

I am the owner of actions [*kamma*], heir to actions, born of actions, related through actions, and have actions as my arbitrator. Whatever I do, for good or for evil, to that will I fall heir.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ This tendency is already apparent in the Buddhist discourse of the National instructors (教導職 *kyōdōshoku*). See Akamatsu (1872).

⁹⁸ Kariya qtd. in *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 82.

⁹⁹ Thanissaro trans. *Anguttara Nikaya* 5:57 in Thanissaro (2016), 194.

The moral law expressed in this statement is known as “the law of cause and effect” (因果応報 *inga ōhō*). Variants on this theme are a mainstay of the discourse of the prison chaplaincy, frequently invoked to exhort inmates to take personal responsibility for their actions.¹⁰⁰ Second, in the first *gatha* (verse) of the *Dhammapadda* collection, the mechanics of this moral law find concise, poetic expression. We may note here the linkage between karma and interiority, with the English word “heart” provided by the translator to express the role of the intentions that are held to drive actions and color the resulting karma as positive or negative.¹⁰¹ There is an implied soteriology expressed in the idea that the purification of the heart leads to happiness.

Phenomena are preceded by the heart, ruled by the heart, made of the heart. / If you speak or act with a corrupted heart, then suffering follows you—as the wheel of the cart, the track of the ox that pulls it. Phenomena are preceded by the heart, ruled by the heart, made of the heart. / If you speak or act with a calm, bright heart, then happiness follows you, like a shadow that never leaves.¹⁰²

The paired verses of this ancient Pali poem incorporate key metaphors for expressing the doctrine of karma that still resonate in 21st century Japan. The “bright heart” draws a visual metaphor rooted in the play of light to gesture towards an idealized, internal and subjective state. It sets a course for aspirations and ties moral action to happiness. The “bright heart” arises from the formation of skillful intentions (in line with Buddhist

¹⁰⁰ This theme is a refrain that runs from the Meiji period to the present day. It recurs in each chapter of this dissertation.

¹⁰¹ For a breakdown of the Pali original see the website of the Digital Library and Museum of Buddhist Studies of National Taiwan University here: <http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/lesson/pali/reading/gatha1.htm> (accessed November 10th, 2016). Note that the Pali term translated as heart here is *mano*, which can also be translated as mind. In much of the Chinese language Mahayana literature, it is more common to translate the Sanskrit term *citta* as “heart” or 心 (Ch. *xīn*, Jpn. *shin* or *kokoro*).

¹⁰² Thanissaro trans. *Dhammapada* 1 (2016), 15. This same passage was translated from Pali into Japanese by Tomomatsu in 1924. For the Pali word *mano* rendered in English here as “heart,” Tomomatsu used the character 意 (*omoi*), which carries the implication of “intention” and “mind.” Between 1985 and 2001, Tomomatsu’s *Dhammapada* was reprinted seventeen times. See Tomomatsu (1985), 12.

morality), the resolve to act upon those intentions, and their actualization in conduct. The fruits of karma—happiness or suffering—are born of intentional action. In the discourse of the chaplaincy, the introduction of the heart (心 *kokoro*), as a gloss for intentions, resonates with legal conceptions of motive (動機 *dōki*) as a cause for crime. The following example from a Shingon Dharma talk delivered in Tottori Prison (鳥取刑務所 *Tottori Keimusho*) sometime before 1973 is illustrative:

It is only through the disciplining of the heart in line with the precepts (心のいましめ *kokoro no imashime*) that it becomes possible to live a joyful life of value. I believe that the path of faith in the Buddha is to open the eyes of your own heart (心の眼 *kokoro no me*), not to allow them to be clouded [by drink or women], to look hard at yourself, and to become a person who can contribute to the world.¹⁰³

This dharma talk focuses on the evils of alcohol and eroticism. The phrase *kokoro no imashime* is a reference to the ten precepts recognized by the Shingon schools.¹⁰⁴ In this phrasing, the precepts are represented not simply as limitations upon conduct, but limitations to be placed on the heart itself. The framing is such that evil conduct is thought to flow from the intentions or motives in a person's heart. The linkage between *kokoro* and karma thus implies a concept of intentionality, producing both a religious framework for interpreting crime that is coherent with legalistic conceptions of motive and a doctrinal basis for criminal rehabilitation programs based on religious praxis. As we will see, ideas about the relationship between *kokoro* and karma are foundational to the chaplaincy and indicative of the entanglement of religious and legal cosmologies and anthropologies.

¹⁰³ See Jōkōji in Miyazaki (1973), 37.

¹⁰⁴ The ten precepts (十善戒 *jūzenkai*) are the ten precepts used by the Shingon sect. They are available on the website of the Chizan sect (智山派 *Chizan-ha*) of Shingon. http://www.chisan.or.jp/taiken/juzenkai/#to_jyuzenkai (accessed 11.13.2016).

Kokoro

In addition to the concept of karma, all prison chaplains invoke ideas about the heart or *kokoro* (心). In contemporary Japanese culture, the *kokoro* is regarded as the locus of internal, subjective states and cogitation.¹⁰⁵ This can be framed in any number of ways, including religious, aesthetic, moral, and psychological perspectives.¹⁰⁶ Sagara suggests that *kokoro* may be translated into English as heart, mind, soul, spirit, consciousness, or possibly conscience.¹⁰⁷ It may also be translated simply as “self.”¹⁰⁸ Each religious group has its own set of ideas about *kokoro*, though they share common features—most essentially the idea that *kokoro* is the object of self-cultivation.

It is worth noting that in Japan today the character 心 can be read as *shin* or as *kokoro* depending on context. *Shin* is the Japanese version of the Chinese reading, and *kokoro* is regarded as an indigenous Japanese word assigned to the character. The term *kokoro* can be found in the earliest Japanese court poetry collection the *Manyōshū* (万葉集) where it appears as an expression for empathy and an aesthetic sensibility.¹⁰⁹ Like the Japanese poetic tradition, the tradition of Japanese ethical thought has long valued purity of heart as an ideal. With each historical period, the dominant mode for expressing these values has shifted: in the ancient period, the pure, bright heart (清き明き心 *kiyoki akaki*

¹⁰⁵ On *kokoro*, see Hardacre (1989), 19-21 and Sagara (1995).

¹⁰⁶ In this section, I am drawing from the work of Sagara (1995). Sagara provides an extensive overview of the many representations of *kokoro* in Japanese culture from primordial times to the present.

¹⁰⁷ Sagara (1995), 112.

¹⁰⁸ Hardacre (1989), 18.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 18-20.

kokoro) was esteemed; in the medieval, it was the honest heart (正直 *seichoku no kokoro*), and in the early modern, the ideal heart was typically expressed as sincere (誠 *makoto*).¹¹⁰ Much of this language has been adopted into the vocabulary of the Shintō priesthood.¹¹¹ By the modern period, literary intellectuals like Natsume Sōseki (夏目漱石 1867-1916) and Watsuji Tetsurō (和辻哲郎 1889-1960) employed the language of *kokoro* in relation to the concept of conscience (良心 *ryōshin*).¹¹² The *kokoro* has long been an essential conceptual tool for thinking about the nature of the human in Japan.

For our present purposes, I would like to highlight the fact that ideas about the *kokoro* have played an important part in various Japanese soteriological schema, and that prison chaplaincy and corrections reflect this general pattern. Rather than attempting a comprehensive account of the *kokoro*, it will suffice for now to indicate its role as the object of self-cultivation in Confucian, Buddhist, and new religious discourse. We will see in the following chapters how *kokoro* comes to figure in the correctional context.

The term *kokoro* condenses multiple levels of meaning into itself. At the most basic level, the Chinese character for heart 心 (Cn. xīn) is regarded as an ideogram based on the physical heart organ.¹¹³ However, by the time the *Analects* (論語 Cn. *Lúnyǔ*, Jpn. *Rongo*) was compiled, the character had come to function as a shorthand for internality or subjectivity, the object of self-cultivation (修身 *shūshin*). The following passage is representative:

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 68.

¹¹¹ See my own case study of a Jinja Honchō chaplain included in chapter six of this dissertation.

¹¹² See Ibid. 101-12.

¹¹³ Ibid. 17.

The Master said: “From fifteen, my will was set upon learning; from thirty I took my stance; from forty I was no longer doubtful; from fifty I realized the propensities of Heaven; from sixty my ear was attuned; from seventy I could give my heart (心) free rein without overstepping the boundaries.”¹¹⁴

The cultivated heart of the sage desires only what is right and in accordance with the Way (道 Cn. *dào*, Jpn. *michi*). The converse has also been held true. The uncultivated heart has often been regarded as a source of trouble. For example, in Genshin’s (源信 942-1017) *The Essentials of Rebirth in the Pure Land* (往生要集 *ōjō yōshū*), we find this admonition: “If you would master your heart, do not take your heart as master.”¹¹⁵

In the Chinese Buddhist canon, the character for heart 心 (Jpn. *shin*) has been widely used to translate the Sanskrit words *citta* and *manas*, terms for mind.¹¹⁶ As in the Confucian ideal expressed above, the heart is regarded as the object of Buddhist practice and salvation. According to Mizutani, this is because the blind passions that bind sentient beings to samsara are conceived as the working of the unenlightened heart.¹¹⁷ We see this idea reflected in one of the three major works of Tendai (天台) Buddhism, the “Great Concentration and Insight” (摩訶止觀 *Makashikan*, 594 CE), wherein ten morally gradated modes of heart (three evil, three good, four transcendent) are said to correspond to ten hierarchical realms of rebirth to which they lead.¹¹⁸ The role of the heart in salvation is given even more emphasis in the *Sutra on the Visualization of the Buddha of*

¹¹⁴ *Analects* 2:4. Ames and Rosemont, trans. (1998), 76.

¹¹⁵ Qtd. In Sagara (1995), 60.

¹¹⁶ Nakamura in Bukkyō Shisō Kenkyūkai (1984), 3, 17.

¹¹⁷ Mizutani in *ibid.*, 258.

¹¹⁸ Ikeda in *ibid.*, 351-2.

Infinite Life (Skt. *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra*, Jpn. 觀無量壽經 *Kanmuryōjūkyō*, hereafter *Contemplation Sutra*), one of the Three Pure Land Sutras.¹¹⁹ Here, the heart is explicitly equated to the vehicle of enlightenment:¹²⁰ “This very heart becomes the Buddha; this heart is the Buddha” (是心作佛是心是佛).¹²¹ The soteriological vocabulary of Japanese Shin Buddhism makes extensive use of metaphors of the heart to express the ideal state of Enlightenment: peaceful heart (安心 *anjin*), the heart of faith (信心 *shinjin*).¹²² Contemporary Japanese representations of Buddhism rely extensively on the language of the heart to express the goals of the religion, as we can see in Takasaki Jikidō’s popular textbook, *Introduction to Buddhism*:

The Buddha taught his disciples to refrain from doing evil by keeping the precepts, to accumulate good karma, to advance through the practice of meditation so as to purify their hearts (心 *kokoro*). Because the purification of the heart ultimately leads to the end of suffering, we may say that the very goal of Buddhist practice is the purification of the heart.¹²³

In all of these representations, the *kokoro* appears as the locus of practice, the object of salvation, and the driving force behind the production of either positive or negative karma. As in the Confucian tradition, Buddhist doctrines exhibit a complex set of ideas associating the cultivation of the heart with the meaning of human life.

Finally, the soteriological schema of Japanese new religious movements also make extensive use of the concept of the heart. This characteristic reflects the fact that the

¹¹⁹ A translation of this sutra is available in Inagaki and Stewart (2003).

¹²⁰ Shibata in Bukkyō Shisō Kenkyūkai (1984), 408.

¹²¹ T0365, 12.0343a21. See the Daizōkyō Database Website (<http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php?lang=en>), accessed November 11, 2016.

¹²² As various Buddhist sects have sought to articulate their vision of salvation for the masses in the modern period, debates over the soteriological status of the peaceful heart (安心論 *anjinron*) and its attainment have develop into a domain of theology. See, for example, Nanjō (1912).

¹²³ Takasaki (1988), 171.

doctrines of many of the new religions of Japan are contiguous with longstanding themes of Japanese religious life.¹²⁴ In the case of the new religions, the *kokoro* is often presented as the locus of vital energy or *ki* (気), conceived as flowing from a divine energy source that animates the cosmos.¹²⁵ This *ki* energy can have a dark, passive, depressed yin (陰 *in*) quality or a bright, active, and joyous yang character (陽 *yō*). In Tenrikyō, the ideal state is one of flowing yang energy often translated as “the Joyous Life” (陽氣ぐらし *yōkigurashi*).¹²⁶

Though there is diversity among these groups, this study is concerned primarily with those groups most active in chaplaincy activities: Tenrikyō (f. 1838) and Konkōkyō (金光教 f. 1859). These groups are accounted for in an influential study of the worldview of the New Religious Movements in which Tsushima et al articulate the underlying doctrinal connection between salvation and the problem of evil characteristic of many Japanese new religions. Here, the solution to the problems of human life is expressed in terms of “healing the heart” (*kokoronaoshi* (心直し):

Salvation means deliverance from evil. For that reason, clarifying the soteriology of a religion also implies grasping its conception of evil. In the case of the new religions, evil is conceived in relation to vitalist thought. Namely, because the good is regarded as a state of harmony with the totality of a cosmos overflowing with vital energy, evil is imagined as the negation of this greater life, specifically the loss of balance with the vital forces animating the universe and all within it, the weakening of this generative and transformative force, or the obstruction of the flowing and flowering of this fundamental life force. [...] How is evil to be overcome? The discipline and commitment to practice required to overcome evil differ according to each sect, but the core of these strategies for overcoming evil lies in the virtues of practicing ethics in everyday life through expressions of gratitude to others, honesty, uprightness, and the cultivation of the pure heart (真

¹²⁴ See Astley in Swanson and Chilson (2006).

¹²⁵ Hardacre (1989), 20.

¹²⁶ See TKJT (1997) entry for *yōkigurashi*.

心 *magokoro*). The emphasis on the ethics of everyday life—the idea that salvation occurs not apart from secular society, but within the secular life, even through the means of a secular lifestyle—reflects the worldliness of salvation in the new religions.¹²⁷

In the case of Tenrikyō, the obstructions that prevent the flourishing of the life force are expressed in a unique theodicy, the doctrine of the eight dusts (八つのほこり *yattsu no hokori*) that cloud the heart: miserliness, greed, hatred, self-love, grudge-bearing, anger, covetousness, and arrogance.¹²⁸ The doctrine holds that these dusts must be cleared from the heart on a daily basis to prevent their negative influence from disrupting the fundamental harmony of life. Here too, as in the Confucian and Buddhist representations of *kokoro*, the heart is both the object of self-cultivation and, through neglect, may become the source of personal troubles.

All prison chaplaincies, Buddhist, Shintō, Tenrikyō, and Christian denominations, are concerned with the connection between the social and personal evil of crime and their own doctrine of salvation. In theological representations of the crime and rehabilitation process, the heart is typically invoked as the source of the trouble and the object of the chaplain's concern. If I may borrow a term from the study of Japanese new religions, in the discourse of the chaplaincy, correctional rehabilitation has significant overlap with religious conceptions of the healing of the heart (心直し *kokoro naoshi*).

¹²⁷ Tsushima et al (1979), 99-100.

¹²⁸ をしい、ほしい、にくい、かわい、うらみ、ほらだち、よく、こうまん. See TKJT (1997) entry for *hokori*.

***Kyōkai*: Doctrinal Remonstrance**

Sullivan argues that American chaplaincies can be understood as variations of “ministry of presence,” claiming that this mode of religious praxis is rooted in particular Christian conceptions of the Incarnation.¹²⁹ The Japanese prison chaplaincy develops independently of such theological influence. Its roots lie elsewhere, and it must be understood in relation to its own doctrinal and religious heritage. The word that comes to be translated as prison chaplaincy is the Buddhist term *kyōkai* (教誨, also pronounced *kyōke*). The historical processes whereby this term comes to be adopted by the prison chaplaincy in the Meiji period are the topic of the following chapters. Our present concern will be limited to its doctrinal significance. However, we must note that the first Buddhist prison chaplains were members of the Shin tradition, and that their engagement in prison proselytization was informed by their own doctrines. The term *kyōkai* that we see used in prisons is thus informed specifically by the heritage of Shin Buddhism. By understanding the doctrinal import of this term in the context of Shin Buddhism, we may hope to gain a clearer picture of how Japanese Buddhist doctrines came to influence the structure of correctional rehabilitation in ways that continue to this day.

I mentioned above that I define *kyōkai* as “doctrinal remonstrance.” This definition expands upon the definitions found in Buddhist dictionaries. Nakamura gives the simple definition 教えさとす *oshiesatosu*, literally “to teach and remonstrate” by taking 教 *kyō* as a verb meaning “to teach.” To access the meaning of this term in the Shin tradition, I take *kyō* in its nominal sense as “doctrine.”¹³⁰ I argue here that the more

¹²⁹ See Sullivan (2014), chapter 5.

¹³⁰ NBKJ (1985).

specific definition of “doctrinal remonstrations” is not only possible but more accurate to its meaning in the Shin tradition at issue here. The definition “doctrinal remonstrations” begs the question, remonstrating with whom about what and based upon which doctrine?

The term *kyōkai* appears in the *Larger Sutra on Amitāyus* (大無量壽經 *Daimuryōjūkyō*, hereafter *Larger Sutra*). This sutra is one of the three most important Mahayana sutras in the Pure Land tradition, and it is the sutra given pride of place in Shin Buddhism.¹³¹ It is thought to have originated in the 3rd century CE and exists in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions.¹³² It presents a vision of the Pure Land and a path to enlightenment for ordinary people who cannot practice the ethical and meditative techniques of Buddhism rigorously in their daily lives.¹³³

The sutra begins as a dialogue between the Buddha and his disciple Ananda. The Buddha offers a discourse on the origins of the Land of Pure Bliss, explaining that it was generated through the merits of the Bodhisattva Dharmakara who became the Buddha Amida and promised to save sentient beings who would so much as call his name. The majority of the text is devoted to descriptions of the splendors of Amida and his glorious Pure Land, and the general import is to exhort believers to have faith in that Pure Land.

The descriptions of paradise are beyond our present concern. The term *kyōkai* first appears in a later section of the *Larger Sutra* known as “the Discourse on the Five Evils” (五惡段 *goakudan*)—this section is to be found only in Chinese versions of the

¹³¹ Translated in Gomez (1996) and Inagaki and Stewart (2003).

¹³² See PDB (2014), entry for *Sukhāvāṭīvyūhasūtra*.

¹³³ See Gomez (1996) or Inagaki and Stewart (2003).

sutra.¹³⁴ In this section, the Buddha turns to the Buddha of the future, Maitreya, and offers him a description of our imperfect world—the world that Maitreya is destined to save. This description provides a stark contrast with the Pure Land. The Buddha says that in our world it is difficult to practice because of the three poisons (三毒 *sandoku*) and the five evils (五惡 *goaku*). These evils are not forms of natural evil such as disasters, but rather qualities of human beings that make life in this world difficult. The three poisons are greed (貪欲 *tonyoku*) hatred (瞋恚 *shin'i*) and ignorance (愚痴 *guchi*), and the five evils are killing (殺生 *sesshō*), stealing (偷盜 *chūtō*), licentiousness (邪淫 *jain*), deceptive words (妄語 *mōgo*), and intoxication (飲酒 *onju*).¹³⁵

The *Larger Sutra* contrasts the bliss of the Pure Land with the inherent evil of our own world and its inhabitants. These passages have been read in the modern Shin tradition as evidence of the fundamentally corrupt nature of humanity.¹³⁶ The Discourse on the Five Evils accounts for much of what ails the world with reference to the qualities of the human heart. It is in this context that the term *kyōkai* appears.

The term *kyōkai* appears in three instances: parents *admonishing* their children; Buddhists *proselytizing* to non-believers; and Buddhists *remonstrating* with the ruler to prevent the secular authorities from violating the Dharma. In what follows, I use the term *admonition* and its variants in my translations because the phrase “doctrinal remonstrations” proves inelegant, but in each instance the import is admonition (誨 *kai*) based on Buddhist doctrine (教 *kyō*). We will notice that in all cases *kyōkai* occurs when

¹³⁴ See Toyohara (1981) for an example of a Shin cleric referencing the *goakudan* as a discrete section of the sutra and a topic of conversation in its own right.

¹³⁵ See NBKJ (1984) entries for *sandoku* and *goaku*.

¹³⁶ See Toyohara (1981).

someone with right views (正見 *shōken*)—a Buddhist authority—remonstrates with a benighted person who holds wrong views (邪見 *jaken*) for some fault the latter has committed based on a failure to understand or accept the Dharma.

The first appearance of *kyōkai* occurs in a passage detailing the fifth in the list of five evils. The length and complexity of the passage itself make it difficult to assign a single name to the evil in question, but the general sense is that people in this world are afflicted by the evil of sloth combined with an unwillingness to heed admonitions about the harms of their indolence.

佛言。其五惡者。世間人民。徒倚懈惰不肯
作善治身修業。家室眷屬飢寒困苦。父母
教誨。瞋目怒鷹。言令不和。違戾叛逆譬
如怨家。不如無子。

The Buddha said, “The fifth evil is this. People of the world are indolent and idle, they refuse to cultivate goodness, and they lack discipline and devotion to their work, so their families are subjected to the hardships of hunger and cold. When admonished (教誨) by their parents, they respond angrily, their eyes clouded with hatred. They do not obey. They object and rebel as if they were mortal enemies [of their own parents]. It is as if the parents had no children.”¹³⁷

In addition to the term *kyōkai*, this passage includes at least one other key doctrinal term. The verb 瞋 *shin*¹³⁸ in the phrase “eyes clouded with hatred” is one of the three poisons. Thus, this scene depicts a conflict between right and wrong views: the poison of hatred has clouded the child’s view, and so he or she is unwilling to see or incapable of seeing the truth (of the Dharma) in the parental admonitions.

¹³⁷ In the Taishō Cannon, see T0360.12.0277a01 – a04. Available via the Daizōkyō Database (<http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php?lang=en>) accessed November 12th, 2017. The text is also quoted in the *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (1993): 25-6. This section is also translated in Inagaki and Stewart (2003), 52 and in Gomez (1996), 211.

¹³⁸ In the *yomikudashi* of the Chaplains’ manual, this is read as *ikarashi*, rendering *shin* as a verb.

This first instance of the term *kyōkai* occurs in the parent-child relationship. Parents *admonish* their lazy children, but the children respond with blind hatred to the good will of their parents. This passage accomplishes two important things. First, it links *kyōkai* to the family structure indicating an association with authority and benevolent guidance.¹³⁹ Second, we see in it an explanation for *why* Buddhist remonstrance may well fail to convince. The assertion is that slothful people are liable to reject the overtures of their parents or benefactors and repay benevolence with hatred. This is due to the fact that the evil are benighted; they hold wrong views. The implication is that the person on the receiving end of *kyōkai* may well fail to cut the root of the three poisons that bind sentient beings to samsara.

Kyōkai is related to both the teaching of Dharma (as religious practice) and the general soteriological framework of karma-samsara. That linkage becomes clearer in the next invocation of *kyōkai*. The Buddha explains that the indolence of the evil persons is fundamentally rooted in their mistaken beliefs and misplaced self-confidence. They are nonbelievers.

如是世人心
意俱然。愚癡矇昧。而自以智慧。不知生
所從來死所趣向。不仁不順。逆惡天地。
而於其中。悒望僥倖。欲求長生。會當歸
死。慈心教誨令其念善。開示生死善惡之
趣自然有是。而不信之。苦心與語無益
其人。

The minds of these people of the world are all alike. They are foolish and ignorant but think themselves wise. They know not from whence they have come into this life or where they will go at death. They are unkind and disobedient, and they commit heinous evil against heaven and earth. Nevertheless, they expect to be blessed with good fortune and crave a long life, though in the end they shall

¹³⁹ In contemporary practice, chaplains invoke the parent-child relationship as a matter of course.

meet with death. Even if one admonishes (教誨) them with compassion, tries to lead them to contemplation of the good, and teaches them that there are naturally good and evil courses of transmigration, they will not believe. Even if one explains until his heart is pained, it will do no good.¹⁴⁰

In this instance, we see that evil is rooted in disbelief in the law of cause and effect.

Evildoers are mired in their own ignorance (愚癡 *guchi*)—another one of the three poisons. As above, *kyōkai* is invoked here in a negative sense. Those who do not believe in the law of karma and the encompassing metaphysic of samsara cannot be brought to the contemplation of the good. They will refuse to hear the truth.

It is useful here to recall an important distinction within Buddhist discourse between right views (正見 *Shōken*) and wrong (or heretical) views (邪見 *Jaken*). If we look at *kyōkai* in this context, its place in a general Buddhist schema of soteriology becomes clear. The driving force of samsara is karma (業 *gō*), or intentional action. The noble eightfold path (八正道 *hasshōdō*) to the end of samsara begins with right view. This is so because the formation of skillful intentions is predicated upon the establishment of right view. Anything other than right view is not the path. We see represented in the Discourse on the Five Evils the worst of the wrong views: the denial of the notion of karma—a rejection of the law of cause and effect itself. So far, it is clear that *kyōkai* means to admonish someone who holds wrong views to try to bring them onto the path.

¹⁴⁰ In the Taishō Cannon, see T0360.12.0277a16 – 22. Available via the Daizōkyō Database (<http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php?lang=en>) accessed November 12th, 2017. The text is also quoted in the *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (1994), 25-6. This section is also translated in Inagaki and Stewart (2003), 52; and in Gomez (1996), 212.

Both the problem of the nature of views and that of the nature of right and wrong (正・邪) are sites of contention in the history of Buddhist philosophy.¹⁴¹ However, in the history of Japanese Buddhism, sectarian polemics (as well as those against Christianity, modern new religions, and Marxist materialism) have often relied upon the charge of heretical views.¹⁴² For now, we should note that in the modern Shin tradition, prewar prison chaplains considered it to be their responsibility to admonish non-believers (or followers of other belief systems). The language of heresy played heavily into their discourse.

The final appearance of the term *kyōkai* in the *Larger Sutra* is as a mediating term between the law of the sovereign and the dharma. Here, a space is opened for admonitions to take the form of resistance to secular authority on the grounds of Buddhist ethics. The sutra reads:

佛言。汝今諸天人民及後世人。得佛經語當熟思之。能於其中端心正行。主上爲善率化其下。轉相勅令各自端守。尊聖敬善仁慈博愛。佛語教誨無敢虧負。當求度世拔斷生死衆惡之本。永離三塗無量憂畏苦痛之道。

The Buddha said, “Gods and humans of the present and future ages, as you listen to the words of the Buddha’s sutra, think deeply upon them so that you may remain upright in thought and just in conduct. Rulers should act for Good, lead the masses with beneficence, decree that each person of his own accord shall adhere to upright conduct, revere the sages, respect people of good character, practice kind-hearted charity, and take care not to turn their back on the Buddha’s teachings and admonitions (教誨). All should truly seek to transcend the world

¹⁴¹ See, for example, *Nihon Bukkyō Gakkai*, 1983.

¹⁴² These topics are expanded in the next two chapters.

and sever the root of the many evils to escape from the paths of fear, sorrow, and pain in the three evil realms!”¹⁴³

The object of the Buddha’s admonitions is the ruler. Thus, those struggling with wrong views are not necessarily the weak. To the contrary, sometimes the object of Buddhist admonition must be the powerful. Historically, prison chaplains have been involved in criticism of the secular authorities from time to time, and though they have not to my knowledge referred to such activity as a form of *kyōkai*, there appears to be a doctrinal possibility for regarding it as such.

The distinction between right and wrong is a foundational component of Buddhist ethics. This dichotomy functions as a division between good (善 *zen*) and evil (悪 *aku*). Through the *Daizōkyō* Database, it is possible to ascertain precisely how frequently a particular character or word is used in the Taishō Buddhist Canon. *Kyōkai* appears 912 times from the *Agamas* (阿含部 *Agonbu*) onward. In 690 of those appearances—about 76% of the time—it occurs in texts that also take up the problem of wrong views (邪見 *jaken*). There is currently no research about *kyōkai* as a general theme or issue in the Buddhist canon. However, if the scale of the phenomenon is any indication of its importance, it seems that the *Larger Sutra* is not the only place where admonishing those who hold wrong views arises as a doctrinal theme. After all, in some sense, all Buddhist proselytization may be a form of admonishing those who hold wrong views.

In the specific context of the *Larger Sutra*, we have seen that the term *kyōkai* is used in three important ways: parents admonishing their children; Buddhists

¹⁴³ In the Taishō Cannon, see T0360.12.0277b25 – c01. Available via the Daizōkyō Database (<http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php?lang=en> (accessed 11.12.2017)). The text is also quoted in the standard edition of the Chaplain’s Manual: *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (1994), 25-6. This section is translated in Inagaki and Stewart (2003), 55 and in Gomez (1996), 214.

admonishing those who deny the law of karma and the encompassing samsara metaphysic; and Buddhists authorities advising the secular authorities to heed the Buddha's admonitions and to avoid lapses in ethical leadership. These instances of *kyōkai* in the *Larger Sutra* have been influential in the context of Pure Land chaplaincy since the Meiji period—and they are still invoked by chaplains today, as evidenced by their appearance in the *Chaplain's Manual*.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, we must not forget that in the Discourse on the Five Evils (*goakudan*) section of the *Larger Sutra* where *kyōkai* appears, it occurs first in the context of parental authorities admonishing their “lazy children.”

When we consider that the prison is primarily an institution to instill discipline, it must be acknowledged that the Buddhist term *kyōkai* has more than a superficial affinity with this agenda. In the second instance, *kyōkai* refers to the attempt to convince someone of the truth of the laws of karma and samsara. In this role, it appears connected to the theme of theodicy in that *kyōkai* represents a rhetorical defense of that *nomos*. The final instance of *kyōkai* adds another dimension by including the sovereign in the scope of Buddhist admonitions. This final invocation of *kyōkai* implies an advisory relationship between Buddhist authorities and the sovereign.

This analysis of the doctrinal term *kyōkai* in the *Larger Sutra* has provided us with the basis for understanding how doctrine is transformed and adapted to fit particular historical contexts. In the following chapters, we will explore the doctrinal elaboration of this concept, its integration into the penal system, and its universalization beyond the realm of Buddhism to include all forms of prison chaplaincy. For now, it should be clear

¹⁴⁴ See *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei Kyōkai Manyuaru hensan iinkai* (1993), 25-6 for the manual's discussion of *kyōkai* in the *Larger Sutra*.

that the doctrinal roots of the Japanese prison chaplaincy (*kyōkai*) are distinct from those of Euro-American modes of chaplaincy.

In Japan today, Buddhist chaplains continue to admonish their audience on the grounds of Buddhist doctrine, and karma remains a constant theme. Today there are also prison chaplains hailing from Christian sects, Tenrikyō, Jinja Honchō, and other groups. However, in the mold of *kyōkai*, these other chaplains also offer their own doctrinal explanations of the problem of evil (crime) and admonish the incarcerated population to obey both the law of the state and the demands of religious ethics.¹⁴⁵

Conclusion: *Kyōkai* in the History of Temple-State Relations

The relationship between Buddhism and the state has influenced Japanese culture in myriad ways, and the topic has been one of the most enduring themes in English language studies of Japanese religious history since the 1980s.¹⁴⁶ For now, three facts about the history of temple-state relations are immediately relevant for understanding the birth of the prison chaplaincy in the context of the political history of Japanese Buddhism. First, far from being focused exclusively on other-worldly concerns, Buddhist institutions have long played a role as a force for maintaining social order. Second, the particular form that role took under the Tokugawa was that temples contributed to the ideological monitoring and control of the population. Third, the Meiji Restoration (1868) disrupted temple-state relations and temple institutions were forced to renegotiate their

¹⁴⁵ See the case studies included in chapter six.

¹⁴⁶ In English language studies of Japanese religions, this trend bears the influence of the work of Kuroda Toshio. See Kuroda (1996) and Kuroda (2001) for a general overview of his approach and key concepts.

place in Japanese society, resulting in a new arrangement with the sovereign authorities. Prison chaplains are the inheritors to all of this history.

Since its introduction to Japan, Buddhism has been involved in political strategies, and prison chaplaincy represents a modern iteration of this pattern. A Buddhist vision of ideal rulership can be seen already in one of the Buddhist texts first disseminated in Japan, the *Sutra of Golden Light* (金光明最勝王經 *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō*).¹⁴⁷ This text was translated into Chinese in the 5th century before being transmitted to Japan by the Nara period (710-794). Due to its promise of divine protection for rulers who support the dharma, the *Sutra of Golden Light* came to be used in courtly “rites to pacify and protect the state” (鎮護国家 *chingo kokka*).¹⁴⁸ The sutra’s claim for itself was that the dissemination of the Buddhist teaching could contribute to the maintenance of social order and hold both human and natural disasters at bay. Buddhism, then as now, presents itself as a force against anomy.

During the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), Buddhist temples were “incorporated into the apparatus of shogunal governance” in the form of the mandatory temple registration system (寺請制度 *terauke seido*) through which the government could both prevent the spread of the Christian (切支丹 *Kirishitan*) religion (perceived as socially disruptive) and maintain a form of census.¹⁴⁹ The system was in part “an apparatus for population surveillance.”¹⁵⁰ Thus, Buddhism not only served as an ideological

¹⁴⁷ Sueki, Shimoda, and Horiuchi (2014), p. 161. See also PDB (2014) entry for *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*.

¹⁴⁸ On the Sutra of Golden Light, see Sango (2015). On “rites to pacify and protect the state,” see Grapard (1988).

¹⁴⁹ Hur (2007), 24.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 26.

mechanism for influencing the populace and contributing to the legitimacy of rule.

Temple institutions also served as the eyes of the authorities in day to day affairs.

Ideologically and institutionally Japanese Buddhism has been an integral component of rule throughout history.

The immediate background to the development of prison chaplaincy was a time marked by the disruption of these old institutional and ideological arrangements. The Meiji period separation of Buddhism from the state and the subsequent anti-Buddhist movements (廃仏毀釈 *haibutsu kishaku*) represented a dramatic break with tradition.¹⁵¹ In the wake of that disruption, Buddhist sects were forced to reconsider and rework their relationships vis-à-vis the transforming state authorities. For this reason, the Meiji period was a time of great uncertainty and also of enormous doctrinal and institutional innovation, spurred on by governmental and institutional change. The state adopted new ideological strategies of governance, including an ill-fated campaign to generate a national creed (大教宣布運動 *daikyō senpu undō*, 1869-1885).¹⁵² In a short span of time, the new regime also set into motion a host of modern institutions (including hospitals, universities, public schools, mandatory conscription, and prisons).¹⁵³ In the midst of these currents, by drawing on the resources of their own past, Meiji Buddhist leaders developed prison chaplaincy as one face of the new, modern Buddhism.

¹⁵¹ On the anti-Buddhism movements, see Ketelaar (1990).

¹⁵² On the Great Promulgation Campaign, see Hardacre (1989), 42-58, and Thal (2005), 147-177.

¹⁵³ The general history of institutional modernization is covered in the *Cambridge History of Japan* Vol. 5. See Jansen in Hall (1988).

The development of the prison chaplaincy in Japan occurred at the same time that the category of religion (宗教 *shūkyō*) was being negotiated. Buddhist intellectuals like the Shin priest Shimaji Mokurai (島地黙雷 1838-1911) called for freedom of religion (信教の自由 *shinkyō no jiyū*) and articulated the legal protection of this internal dimension as a necessary component of human flourishing and social progress.¹⁵⁴ The development of the category of religion inherited and adapted traditional ideas about the heart (*kokoro*) as the object of self cultivation. Religion was conceived in relation to a notion of a private space for belief (信仰 *shinkō*), defined as internal (内心的 *naishinteki*), and a “matter of the heart.”¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the call for freedom of religion was accompanied by the assertion that the right kind of religion was connected to the promotion of social stability and therefore of benefit to the state.¹⁵⁶

In the context of Shin Buddhism, ideas about freedom of religion were grounded in a doctrinal tradition recognizing two semi-independent levels to the law: the ultimate law and the secular law (真俗二諦 *shinzoku nitai*).¹⁵⁷ Thus, Shimaji, for example, argued that while the secular law was the authority over conduct, the ultimate law was the dharma, the authority over the internal domain of faith in salvation through Other-power (内心[の]他力信仰 *naishin [no] tariki shinkō*).¹⁵⁸ In this way, the freedom to believe

¹⁵⁴ On Shimaji, see Kramer (2015) and Yamaguchi (2013).

¹⁵⁵ Hoshino (2012) and Maxey (2014) are two excellent studies of the development of a concept of religion (*shūkyō*) in modern Japan.

¹⁵⁶ See both Hoshino (2012) and Maxey (2014).

¹⁵⁷ There is an extensive bibliography on *shinzoku nitai*. See Hirata (2001), *Seitoku'an* (1927), and Yamazaki (1996). Yamazaki has the most extensive bibliography.

¹⁵⁸ Fujii qtd. in Hoshino (2013), 11.

was distinguished from the freedom to take political action, such that claims for religious freedom were always subordinated to the necessity for loyalty to the sovereign. It was in the context of these institutional and doctrinal transformations and the attempt to articulate a concept of religion that the first Buddhist prison chaplains emerged.

The discourse of two-levels of law should not be regarded as driving a wedge between religion and state. The tradition of Buddhist kingship in Japan has bequeathed a legacy of regarding the relationship between the dharma and the law of the sovereign as analogous to that between “two wheels on a cart” or “two horns on an ox.”¹⁵⁹ An influential patriarch of the Shin tradition and successor to Shinran (親鸞 1173-1263), Rennyo (蓮如 1415-1499) asserted that “one should place emphasis upon the *ōbō* but cultivate the *buppō* deep in one’s heart (内心 *naishin*).”¹⁶⁰ Despite the appearance of a division between the two levels of law, in the context of the chaplaincy, conduct and the content of the heart have been understood as existing in a mutual relationship and so too have the dharma and the law of the sovereign. The mainstay of the discourse of chaplaincy is that violating the law of the state is also a violation of the moral order of karma, and that a person whose heart (心 *kokoro*) is harmonized with the dharma will also live in accordance with the law of the state.

Conceptions of karma have existed in a symbiotic relationship with the law of the sovereign. The prewar and wartime chaplaincy denied the distinction between the dharma and the secular law, and asserted outright that there was unity between the law of the

¹⁵⁹ Qtd. in Kuroda (1996), 277. See also Kuroda (2001), 34 for the citation of the original text.

¹⁶⁰ Kuroda (1996), 283.

state and the dharma.¹⁶¹ Rather than being abnormal in the history of Buddhism/state relations in Japan, it is worthwhile to consider how this development fits into a broader pattern in Japanese religious history. On the other hand, we will also see chaplains who have denied that the dharma or religious truth should be subjugated by the demands of secular authority. In both instances, the fundamental issue has been how to conceive of the relationship between the law and morality. The study of the chaplaincy will illuminate some heretofore ignored dimensions of this longstanding problem in temple-state relations.

Chapter Outline

This study is structured in two parts. Chapters two through four are devoted primarily to historical research, and chapters five and six combine archival research with fieldwork. The second chapter discusses the pre-history of prison chaplaincy at the dawn of the Meiji period. I argue that the forerunner to prison chaplaincy can be found in the government campaign to admonish (*kyōkai*) illegal Christians to renounce their faith and convert (*kaishin*, lit. “change-heart”) to Buddhism as a sign that they embrace loyalty to the emperor and the new regime. The role of Shin Buddhists in the forced conversion campaign represents the origin of remonstrating with the incarcerated to solicit a change of heart, and this event reveals a clear connection between doctrines and practices for rectifying the heart and the inculcation of loyalty to the sovereign.

¹⁶¹ The chaplaincy is not unique in this regard. See Ives (1999) and Rogers and Rogers (1990). See also *Senji Kyōgaku Kenkyūkai* (1988) for a Shin perspective on the sect’s collaboration with the wartime authorities.

The third chapter describes the relationship between the Great Promulgation Campaign (1870-1884) and the prison system, arguing that prison ministry began *en masse* when the Great Promulgation Campaign entered detention facilities to teach a Great Way to the incarcerated beginning in 1872. I show that religionists working with the campaign pressed for access to the incarcerated absent any overarching government program. Thus, prison chaplaincy began as a grassroots movement propelled by religionists who sought to unify the hearts of the Japanese people in service to the cause of the nationalist creed. The fourth chapter explains how Shin clerics established the fundamental doctrines and practices of the prison chaplaincy thereby cementing their dominance over the vocation in the 1890s. I argue that Shin Buddhists developed a formalized system for prison chaplaincy by drawing on longstanding doctrinal and ritual traditions to interpret crime as a form of moral evil and the rehabilitation process as a matter of rectifying the heart (*kokoro*), purifying karma, and restoring to the state a loyal subject. Driven by competition with early Protestant prison chaplains, the Shin sects built a curriculum of prison-based practices and initiated vocational training programs for chaplains, and by these methods they managed to win a virtual monopoly over the prison chaplaincy that lasted until the end of the war. The fifth chapter discusses the transition from the prewar and wartime model of prison chaplaincy dominated by Shin sects to the postwar model of prison chaplaincy in which a diverse range of religious groups participate. I argue that prison chaplaincy was transformed under the postwar regime to reflect new understandings of the social role for religion that emphasized human rights and religious contributions to keeping the peace both within the hearts of individuals and in societies at large. In this transition, the civil service prison chaplaincy was abolished

and the state and religious organizations worked together to build a volunteer prison chaplaincy. The new prison chaplaincy was constructed through the universalization and secularization of the Jōdo Shinshū model of doctrinal remonstrance. Thus, the variety of postwar prison chaplaincies developed theologies and practices based on the inherited model established by Shin Buddhists in the 1890s and centered around rectification of the heart. The sixth chapter interrogates the role of the prison chaplain today by contrasting official representations of prison chaplaincy found in chaplains' manuals with the findings of fieldwork and interviews with chaplains. I argue that the experiences of prison chaplains reflect tensions inherent in the political processes whereby public and private spheres of life are distinguished in contemporary Japan. For prison chaplains, their official station presumes a hierarchical relationship that places duties to the state above personal interests and beliefs, which are relegated to the private realm. Thus, official representations of prison chaplaincy form a dominant discourse that circulates in public (through the publications of the chaplains unions), while the personal narratives and opinions of individual chaplains and their struggles tend to remain in the shadows of the private realm (though they are often expressed in conversation and occasionally revealed to the broader public by journalists).

In the course of this study, I found that religious doctrines and practices have influenced the development of the ethos of the correctional system as well as its rehabilitative methods, and that such influence is pervasive in the prison system today. At the same time, religious sects have tailored their services to the needs of prisons by interpreting crime and its effects as religious issues flowing from spiritual disharmony. My research reframes the current conversation about secularization in Japan by

questioning the margins between religion and the law of the secular state, casting doubt on our ability to neatly define boundaries between these two mutually constitutive realms. Ultimately, even if Japanese are less invested in religious doctrines and organizations than they once were, the ethos and praxis of secular institutions of governance remain deeply rooted in the legacy of inherited religious traditions even as those traditions adapt to new institutional and governmental arrangements.

Chapter 2**Admonishing the Heretics:****Shin Buddhists and
the Incarceration of Urakami Christians****Thesis**

Chapters two, three, and four outline the origins of prison chaplaincy (教誨 *kyōkai*) in Japan in the Meiji period (1868-1912). I trace the development of the chaplaincy from its inception through its expansion into a grassroots movement in the 1870s until the incorporation of the prison chaplaincy as a branch of the civil service in 1903. There is a popular opinion among Japanese prison chaplains today that prison chaplaincy was imported wholesale together with European penal institutions in the late 19th century as part of a global trend towards modern, humane modes of punishment.¹ I resist this narrative here.

I argue instead that the Japanese prison chaplaincy represents a hybrid model of religious vocation rooted as much in Tokugawa period temple-state relations as in imported methods of penology. In order to uncover this connection, this chapter examines the pre-history of prison chaplaincy. The doctrinal admonition (*kyōkai*) of prisoners begins with the detainment, forced relocation, and re-education of a group of illegal Christians.

¹ The narrative presented in the *Chaplain's Manual* links the origins of Japanese prison chaplaincy to a global development of enlightened methods of punishment in the late 19th century. See Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei *Kyōkai Manyuaru* Hensan Iinkai (1993), 348-352.

Overview

The argument proceeds in three parts. First, I provide a summary of the state of religion-state relations at the time that doctrinal remonstrance emerged as an issue. Second, I introduce records from the Ōtani-ha branch of Shinshū that reveal how Shin sects lobbied for a role in the management of the illegal Christians. Third, I analyze both Buddhist and Christian testimonies of the encounter between remonstrators and prisoners to highlight some essential themes that are adopted by the prison chaplaincy: the union of the dharma and the law (王法仏法 *ōbō buppō*), and the nature of conversion (改心 *kaishin*).

Throughout this dissertation, I maintain that although state policies promoting religious, legal and institutional reform shaped the development of the prison chaplaincy, it has been religious groups themselves who have initiated the practice and pressed for its expansion. In the prewar period, the most effective advocates for prison chaplaincy were the powerful East Honganji (東本願寺 *Higashi Honganji* or 大谷派 *Ōtani-ha*) and West Honganji (西本願寺 *Nishi Honganji* or 本願寺派 *Honganji-ha*) sects of Shin Buddhism. In this chapter, I examine how the Shin sects sought to negotiate with the state to retain a place for Buddhism under the new regime. Records of the Ōtani branch of Shin Buddhism reveal that the negotiations were motivated by the desire to retain the privileged role that Buddhist sects had enjoyed under the Tokugawa: a role defined by the responsibility to uphold the social order and justified by the perceived threat of Christianity.

Both Christian and Buddhist testimonies of this encounter survive, and these accounts center on the notion of “change of heart” or conversion (改心 *kaishin*). The practice of admonishing the incarcerated and the doctrinal theme of change of heart are foundational to later prison chaplaincy. In particular, I emphasize that change of heart in these early testimonies amounts to the performance of rituals of submission to the state authorities. Moreover, I also note that various Shin Buddhist figures involved in the admonition of the Urakami Christians went on to play significant roles in the development of the prison chaplaincy.

The Buddhist response to the Urakami Christians is the background context to the origins of prison chaplaincy in the tumultuous years immediately following the Restoration. This contextualization is necessary to understand that prison chaplaincy (*kyōkai*) is not merely a modern innovation. *Kyōkai* reflects the characteristics of the Tokugawa period temple-state union characterized by the phrase “Unity of the Dharma and the Law of the Sovereign” (王法仏法 *ōbō buppō*).

Context: Temple-State Relations and the Christian Enemy

Prison chaplaincy in Japan developed from the inheritance of Tokugawa period temple-state relations. Throughout the Tokugawa period, Buddhist temples were quasi-governmental institutions, and they fulfilled a variety of roles necessary to maintain social order. These functions included the operation of village schools (寺子屋 *terakoya*), the management of illness, the ritual cycles associated with death and dying, public proselytization, the performance of private rites to cater to the needs of individuals and

families, and also public rites in support of the governmental authorities.² Buddhism was thoroughly integrated into the fabric of social life in Japan.

From the 17th century on, all Japanese were compelled to register as parishioners (檀家 *danka*) of the local temple responsible for their annual sectarian investigation (宗門改 *shūmon aratame*). The Tokugawa implemented this system of temple registration (寺請制度 *terauke seidō*) as a means to enforce a ban on Christianity, but once established, the temple registration system also served as a means of conducting a census and of keeping the population under surveillance.³ This particular social role provides one key to understanding prison chaplaincy: the involvement of Buddhist institutions in the modern correctional system is contiguous with their social functions in the early modern period.

The rationale for the temple registration system relied on the perceived threat of Christianity. By the late Tokugawa period, widespread perceptions of Christianity held it to be an evil doctrine (邪教 *jakyō*), a source of social disruption, and even a weapon of Western colonialism.⁴ In spite of the widespread prejudice against Christianity, throughout the Tokugawa period, there remained a small community of hidden Christians (隠れキリシタン *kakure kirishitan*) in Japan, most of whom were concentrated in and

² On the social role of Buddhist temples in Edo period Japan and beyond, see the entry for *Jiin no Kinō* in *Nihon Shūkyō Jiten hensan iinkai* (1994). On the role of Buddhism in the management of illness, see Nakanishi (2004).

³ Hur (2007) discusses the role of anti-Christianity in unifying the shogun's state.

⁴ On perceptions of Christianity, see Josephson (2012), chapters 1 and 2. On the perception of Christianity as an ideological weapon, see Aizawa Seishisai translated in Wakabayashi (1986).

around the Nagasaki area where Catholic missionaries led by Francis Xavier (1506-1562) had established a foothold in the 16th century.⁵

During the Edo period, the harbor of Nagasaki was one of the only ports open for trade with foreign powers. At the time of the Restoration, Nagasaki was perhaps the most international town in Japan, home to a Dutch trading post on the man-made island of Dejima and a community of Chinese sailors and merchants in addition to the local Japanese populace.⁶ Because of the size of the European community, the economic value of trade with the Dutch, and growing international pressure, the shogunate permitted the construction of a Catholic church for the foreigners residing in Nagasaki in 1858.⁷ When Ōura Cathedral (大浦天主堂 *Ōura Tenshudō*) was completed in 1865, a group of Japanese Christians from the neighboring hamlet of Urakami (浦上) came out of hiding, revealing themselves to the French Catholic priest Fr. Bernard Petit-Jean (1829-1884).⁸ These Japanese Christians began to worship in secret with the foreign priest, and then, in 1867, one of their number violated the law by conducting a funeral independently, refusing to engage the services of Seitoku-ji (聖徳寺), the Jōdo-shū Buddhist temple with which his family was registered.⁹ This refusal amounted to a public rejection of the temple registration system, and the authorities in Nagasaki moved quickly to identify and detain the leaders of this hidden Christian community for questioning. Due to the

⁵ On the history of the Nagasaki Christians, see Kataoka (2007).

⁶ For a concise historical overview of Nagasaki based on the city's official record of its own history, see *Nagasaki-shi hensan iinkai* (2015).

⁷ Kataoka (1991), 49.

⁸ Kataoka (2007), 90-111.

⁹ Kataoka (1991), 57-63.

involvement of foreign priests and the fact that those being persecuted were Christians, the incident became the focus of international attention, implicating higher levels of government.¹⁰

In December of 1867, however, the days of the shogunate were numbered, and the matter of how to deal with the Urakami Christians was left unresolved. By January of the new year, rebellious samurai from Satsuma and Chōshū domains had seized control of Kyoto and the Emperor who resided there. The rebels proclaimed themselves to be the rightful government, declaring the “restoration of imperial rule” (王政復古 *ōsei fukkō*) on January 3rd. On the 27th, the restorationists overcame shogunate forces at the battles of Toba and Fushimi, and by March the last Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu (徳川慶喜 1837-1913) had surrendered his castle in Edo.

Popular support for the Meiji Restoration was drummed up by the ideological leadership of nativists, who championed a return to an imagined golden age of direct imperial rule beyond the reach of foreign powers. They rallied to the slogan, “Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians” (尊王攘夷 *sonnō jōi*).¹¹ The two ideas condensed into this slogan reflect a vision of Japan as a sacred polity (国体 *kokutai*), the land of the kami (神国 *shinkoku*) ruled by a divine emperor, and a concomitant rejection of everything deemed foreign as a potential source of corruption.¹² The rejection of foreign influence was not only an opposition to the Tokugawa policy of opening of the country to foreign trade. It came also to be associated with a rejection of the status of Buddhism as the de-

¹⁰ See Maxey (2014) chapter one for a detailed overview of the diplomatic significance surrounding this event.

¹¹ See Yasumaru in Miyaji and Yasumaru (1988), 490-540.

¹² Ibid.

facto state religion on the grounds that Buddhism too was a foreign imposition, responsible in part for the evils of the shogunate.¹³ Thus, when the restorationists seized power, one of their first actions was to issue a series of edicts through March and April calling for the separation of buddhas from kami (神仏分離令 *shinbutsu bunri*).¹⁴ With these gestures, the new regime unleashed a tide of popular anti-Buddhist sentiment which led to the destruction of numerous temples and the defrocking of many Buddhist priests.¹⁵ This anti-Buddhist fervor came to be known as the “abolish the Buddha, destroy Shakyamuni” (廃仏毀釈 *haibutsu kishaku*) movement.¹⁶ The future of all Buddhist temples was thrown into uncertainty as a “cultural revolution” swept the country.¹⁷ The sudden popularity of slogans like “smash the priests” (坊主つぶし *bōzu tsubushi*) left many Buddhists terrified.¹⁸

In the midst of this uncertainty, Buddhist leaders were looking for ways to adapt to the new regime so as to defend the dharma (護法 *gohō*). The threat of annihilation necessitated proving the utility of Buddhism to the new rulers. On the one hand, wealthy temples were able to ingratiate themselves with the state through financial contributions to the new regime. The government was in dire need of money to continue to wage its military campaign against Tokugawa loyalist holdouts in Eastern Japan (戊辰戦争

¹³ See *ibid.*

¹⁴ The orders separating Buddhas from Kami are reproduced in Miyaji and Yasumaru (1988), 425-427.

¹⁵ On the *haibutsu kishaku* movement, see Ketelaar (1991).

¹⁶ On the anti-Buddhist movement, see Yasumaru (2013), 85-119.

¹⁷ The term “cultural revolution” is borrowed from Grapard (1984).

¹⁸ Tokushige (1984), 158.

Boshin Sensō, the Boshin War).¹⁹ On the other hand, the threat of Christianity provided Buddhists with an opportunity to reassert their position as the vanguard standing against the foreign menace. To some Buddhist leaders, the appearance of the Urakami Christians looked like an opportunity.

Even after the Meiji government came to power in 1868, popular anger at Buddhist institutions paled in comparison to fear of Christianity as an existential threat. In one of their first acts, the new rulers reasserted the ban on Christianity through notice boards placed throughout the country on April 7th of 1868.²⁰ In the same month, the authorities in Nagasaki arrested the leaders of the Urakami community and held them in custody.

The Delayed Government Response

Deliberations about how to deal with the Urakami Christians were conducted at the highest levels of government. In April, the newly crowned Meiji emperor, then only sixteen years old, departed from his palace in Kyoto to make the journey to Edo, where he would commence residence in his new home, the palace of the former Shogun. The Emperor's move to Tokyo would symbolically complete the full transfer of power. However, the imperial procession traveled first to Osaka for meetings with officials and a select few foreign dignitaries. In Osaka, the emperor took temporary lodgings at the Osaka branch of the East Honganji Betsu-in temple from April 16th until May 28th.²¹ During his stay, he briefly returned to Kyoto on May 17th to visit the West Honganji

¹⁹ Ibid., 162.

²⁰ See Miyaji and Yasumaru (1988), 425.

²¹ Keene (2002), 143.

head temple in order to preside over a meeting to decide the fate of the Urakami Christians.²² There, the decision was finalized to banish the Christians from their homes in Urakami and scatter them throughout various domains. The Department of State (太政官 *dajōkan*) issued the order on June 7th.

However, as investigations in Nagasaki continued and foreign powers became increasingly concerned about the treatment of Christians in Nagasaki, the mass-internment of the Urakami Christians faced delays. First, on July 20th, 114 leaders of the Urakami Christian community were exiled from Urakami for internment in Hagi (sixty-six persons), Tsuwano (twenty-eight persons), and Fukuyama (twenty persons) domains.²³ It would not be until January of 1870 that the rest of the Urakami Christian community, totaling 3,383 persons, would be uprooted and placed under the custody of local authorities in various far-flung localities.²⁴

The government's plan was that the Japanese Christians were to be interrogated and, through a combination of persuasion and torture, forced to renounce their faith.²⁵ However, in the summer of 1868, the leaders of the Shin Buddhist sects petitioned the government, asking to be permitted to take responsibility for the Christians. It is in the context of these negotiations that the topic of "doctrinal remonstrance" (*kyōkai*) first emerges as an issue of state policy at the dawn of the Meiji period.

²² Tokushige (1984), 158-9.

²³ See Kataoka in Tanigawa (1972), 762.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ See Kataoka in Tanigawa (1972), 768 for reproduction of government records detailing the handling of the prisoners.

Shin Buddhists Petition to Take Custody of the Urakami Christians

The mass internment of Christians has come to be known as the “Fourth Collapse of Urakami Village” (浦上四番崩れ *Urakami Yonban Kuzure*).²⁶ Japanese scholars like Anesaki Masaharu, Tokushige Asakichi, and Kataoka Yakichi have unearthed numerous primary documents outlining the details of this persecution.²⁷ There is also wealth of secondary literature in English outlining the diplomatic significance of the event.²⁸ My present purpose is to highlight the connection between this event and the development of prison chaplaincy, for which we must turn to the Buddhist response to the Urakami incident. Shin Buddhists pressed for *kyōkai* (doctrinal remonstrance) as a strategy for dealing with hidden Christians. Originally, the aim of *kyōkai* was to bring about conversion (改心 *kaishin*, lit. “change of heart”) from the forbidden sect of Christianity to Shin Buddhism.

On June 27nd and 28th of 1868, two months after the leaders of the Urakami Christians had been arrested, the East Honganji and West Honganji temples were granted some relief from the uncertainty caused by the wave of anti-Buddhist movements sweeping the nation. They received yet another visit from representatives of the government.²⁹ These officials assured their hosts that the intention of the edict separating Buddhas from Kami was not to “abolish the Buddha, destroy Shakyamuni” after all: such unfortunate incidents were merely due to the excessive fervor of the lower classes (下民

²⁶ Kataoka (1999).

²⁷ Anesaki (1976), Kataoka (1991, 2007), Tokushige (1984), Urakawa (1979).

²⁸ Burkman (1974), Maxey (2014), Thelle (1987).

²⁹ Tokushige (1984), 187-8

kamin).³⁰ During their visit to the West Honganji, the officials relayed a request directly from Obara Shigenori (小原重徳 1801-1879), the newly appointed Minister of Justice (刑法官知事 *Keihōkan chiji*). Obara requested that West Hongan-ji officials draft a government statement (御沙汰 *osata*) to condemn the excesses of the anti-Buddhist movements. The resulting draft reads:

近來賊徒奸策を呈し、朝廷廢仏毀釈など無根之狂言を以て、下民ヲ扇惑動揺せしむる條、叡慮ニ戻り 宸襟を奉悩のみならず、即宗門の法敵共謂ッベシ。依之今般教諭之儀被仰付候通汝(此段)深感戴有之、(其宗門)諸国一圓不滅様厚教法説諭ニ及ビ、民心安堵件業相励、洽く王化ニ浴澤し国恩忘却不致、精々教誨を可加旨更被御沙汰候事

Of late it has become apparent that a malicious faction has been seeking to fan the disturbance among the lower classes through baseless nonsense, claiming that the court supports “abolishing the Buddha, destroying Shakyamuni.” We must return to our senses. Not only is this disturbing to the mind of the Emperor, we must declare these factions the enemies of sect law.

For this reason, as you Buddhists are charged with the duty of influencing the populace, you must be deeply affected by this. In light of these events, the populace must be instructed in the law and persuaded that in no province are the Buddhist sects to be destroyed. The work to reassure the hearts of the people regarding this matter must be encouraged. It is hereby decreed that no effort should be spared to admonish (教誨 *kyōkai*) the populace to bear these principles in mind so that the imperial influence may spread far and wide and so the people will not forget their debt to the country.³¹

Officials of West Honganji, in collaboration with a faction from the new Meiji government, drafted an order to allow for the defense of the dharma against the excesses of the anti-Buddhist movements. In the draft order, the term *kyōkai* appears in reference to the admonition of the populace at large. Contextually, the term clearly refers to defending Buddhism against those violent antagonists who, under the sway of wrong views promoted by enemies of the dharma, have been doing harm to the Buddhist

³⁰ Qtd. In *ibid.*, 182-3. See also Tsuji (1949), 48 for other government documents denouncing the anti-Buddhist movements as excessive.

³¹ Qtd. In Tokushige (1984), 186.

establishment. The import of this statement is that the benighted populace must be reminded of the importance of the dharma through a campaign of proselytization. The will of the emperor is invoked to add to the gravitas of the message. Moreover, the defense of the dharma is linked to the successful promotion of imperial influence and the concomitant inculcation of a sense of national duty. Honganji officials were making the case for reestablishing a close linkage between temples and the state.

The immediate context necessary to understand this document centers around the two aforementioned political crises: the ongoing Boshin war and the problem posed by the Urakami Christians.³² The government and the powerful Shin sects found common ground in the fear of the threat of Christianity, and thus, the government was willing to authorize the Buddhist sects to invoke the name of the Emperor to denounce the anti-Buddhist campaigns. Moreover, the two major Shin sects, divided for over two hundred years, now found themselves banding together in the face of the double threat posed by the encroachment of Christianity from without, and the anti-Buddhist movements from within the nation. The Shin sects began to strategize together in their negotiations with state officials, thereby forging a closer alliance.³³ Their alliance would later become the basis for the development of prison chaplaincy as a joint venture for both branches of Honganji.

On July 17th, now unified in their common cause, East and West Honganji, together with the smaller Kōshō (真宗興正派 *Shinshū Kōshō-ha*) sect of Shin Buddhism, each wrote to the Council (辨官 *benkan*) of the Department of State (太政官 *dajōkan*) to

³² See Tokushige (1984), 187.

³³ See Tokushige (1984), 190-192.

request permission to minister to the hidden Christians. Though there are minor differences in wording, the three documents are virtually identical in import, so I reproduce here only the West Honganji text.

切支丹宗門ノ義ハ從來通り固ク御制禁ノ御趣意難有奉感戴候。今般政教御一新ノ御時勢勤王ノ實力相立候様盡力仕度奉存候處、人民教諭ノ義ハ釈迦門ノ本業ニ有之候間、長崎邊切支丹侵潤致居候輩良民ニ立戻候様教諭相加、御政化ノ一端ヲ補助仕度奉存候。乍然固執ノ輩ニ候へバ不日改心ノ實功難期候へ共精々盡力仕度候。尤も眞宗一同申合同心戮力可仕候。孰レニモ專任ノ心得ヲ以テ勉勵仕度候間此段御許容奉仰候以上。

We are grateful for your decision to continue the just policy of strict prohibition against the Christian sect. At present, to support the advent of the restoration in government and doctrine, we wish to exert our every effort to join our strength in service to the emperor. The responsibility of proselytizing to the populace falls with the followers of Shakyamuni. We wish to be allowed to offer our assistance in managing the present situation by joining in the effort to persuade the Christians who have infiltrated Nagasaki to return to their rightful place as good subjects. Of course, even though we will work dilligently with them, we anticipate that for some days there will be difficulty in obtaining conversions, but we intend to do everything in our power to ensure success. Naturally, all sects of Shinshū are united in our desire to be permitted to join forces to support this cause. Each Shin sect stands willing to offer dedicated service. We humbly request permission to take responsibility for the aforementioned matter.³⁴

The wording of this request reproduces almost verbatim phrases from the government circular of April 17th announcing the plan to relocate the Christian leaders and “persuade (教諭 *kyōyū*) them to return to their rightful place as good subjects.”³⁵ It appears that in light of the government’s approval of their attempts to stamp out the anti-Buddhist movements, the Shin sects hoped to be granted permission to take custody of the captive Christian leadership in order to convert them, through Buddhism, into loyal subjects of the emperor.

³⁴ Qtd. In Tokushige (1984), 193.

³⁵ See the circular as reproduced in Miyaji and Yasumaru (1988), 427.

The following week, on July 25th, the East Honganji head temple issued a circular to its seminary (学寮 *gakuryō*) in Kyoto, advising students and instructors that the sect had requested permission from the government to handle the Christian menace. The sect leadership declared that preparations were to be made.

此度眞宗一同御示談ノ上、各寺御願書ヲ以テ為護法、切支丹ノ義断然御國禁ノ趣及教諭可申、辨事御中へ被仰立候ニ付、若哉只今ニテモ右御願之旨御採用ニ相成候節、講者並ニ是マデ修學ノ寮司ヲ始メ、右御用ニ御召仕可被為在思召ノ處、其節ニ相成リ邪法ノ趣意彼教ノ一端モ其心得無之候テハ、萬一其出張先ニテ如何様ノ試問ニ出會、其返答ニ差詰リ候テハ第一御本山ノ瑕瑾、學寮講者・寮司共精学不行屈ノ御名ヲ流シ、御隣山ノ學匠ニ対シ甚以テ恥辱ノ至ニ候間、今日ヨリ在京講者ハ勿論、寮内寮外副講相勤居候程ノ寮司又末々所化迄モ、其才力相応ニ邪教之次第為心得、急速ニ致研究置、何時ニテモ御用ノ御差支ニ不相成様精々取調ノ名前書上可被申置事。右ハ御上ニモ深ク御案被為在候間、別テ其段申達置候也。³⁶

The Shin Sects have reached a mutual settlement, and each temple has petitioned the government so as to protect the dharma, declaring our support for the ban on the Christian doctrine and the persuasion of Christians to the Council of the Ministry of State. If our petition should be accepted, students and instructors at this seminary will be among the first called into service. At that time, it will not do to be unprepared with a general competence in the meaning of the heretical doctrine. By some some chance, if, in the field, one encounters some question only to be found incapable of reply, not only will this be a stain upon the reputation of our head temple, it will also make a bad name for our seminary, students, and instructors, shaming us in front of the other sects and their schools. Starting today, all lecturers in the capital (Kyoto), along with instructors working within and beyond the seminary and all former students are ordered to prepare, first and foremost, the skills necessary to respond to the heretical doctrine. Research will commence at once, and, so that there will be no impediment to offering our services at any time, a list of [potential] investigators will be compiled. The rulers are gravely considering the present predicament, and more announcements will follow as the situation develops.

This circular advised students and staff that their own temples may be held responsible for converting Christians and set out a plan of action to defend the dharma (護法 *gohō*).³⁷

³⁶ Qtd. In Tokushige (1984), 407-8.

³⁷ Qtd. In Tokushige (1984), 407-8.

It was announced that the seminary would initiate research into the doctrines of the Christian sect and introduce a curriculum designed to prepare priests to persuade (*kyōyū*) Christians to give up their faith and return to Buddhism. East Honganji was initiating preparations for an ideological struggle for the hearts and minds of the Japanese people.

Despite the enthusiasm with which the Shin sects prepared to respond to the hidden Christians, the government issued a reply denying their requests for custody of the Urakami leadership on August 23rd. By this time, restoration forces had secured major victories in their campaign against the Tokugawa loyalists in northeastern Japan, and one immediate existential threat to the nascent regime had been removed. The government may not have approved the excesses of the anti-Buddhist movements. However, despite the Shin sects' attempt to negotiate the maintenance of Buddhism's longstanding position as the ideological and institutional firewall against Christianity, the government was not amenable to re-initiating the temple-state relationship of the Tokugawa. The rejection was terse.

九州表耶蘇之徒教諭盡力致度願之趣尤二候へ共、既ニ巨魁數人御取調之上藩々へ御預相成、自餘之輩當分越前藩へ屹度取締被仰付候間、於其宗旨教誨之儀不被及御沙汰候事

Although we have received your request to be permitted to persuade the open followers of Yasō (Jesus) in Kyushu, we have already dispersed their ringleaders to various domains for internment and investigation. Most of the others are to be placed under supervision in Echizen domain, so it has been decided that they are not to be admonished (教誨 *kyōkai*) based on the doctrine of your sect.³⁸

At this time, the highest organ of state was the Ministry of Divinities (神祇官 *jingikan*), an institution with a decidedly Shinto character.³⁹ The position of Buddhism under the

³⁸ Qtd. in Tokushige (1984), 195.

³⁹ See *SSDJ* (1986), entry for *jingikan*.

new regime remained suspect, and so the central government flatly rejected Shinshū's offer to take responsibility for the leaders of the Urakami Christians. This responsibility was instead passed off to Nativist scholars and Shintō priests.⁴⁰

Despite this refusal, the Shin sects were not willing to abandon the Christian problem to others. Anticipating the coming mass internment, East Honganji took measures to prepare for a protracted conflict with Christianity. First, when the fall semester at the East Honganji seminary convened on September 15th of 1868, the sect established additional courses of instruction based on the reading of Christian texts.⁴¹ The emphasis was on the construction of polemics (破邪 *haja*) to overcome Christian doctrine. Second, without government approval, East Honganji opted to follow the same course of action taken earlier in the year by West Honganji: spies were dispatched from the Kyoto seminary to Nagasaki to investigate the Urakami Christians firsthand.⁴² Even if the central government would not cooperate with the temple institutions, negotiations with regional authorities remained an option.

The Forced Relocation and Internment of the Urakami Christians

On January 3rd of 1870, the government announced the initiation of the Great Promulgation Campaign, an attempt to unite the populace through the promotion of a national doctrine with an explicitly Shintō character. Buddhists too were expected to

⁴⁰ See Kataoka in Tanigawa (1972), 762 for a reproduction of records detailing the handling of Urakami Christians in various domains.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 411.

⁴² See the case of Ryōgen 良巖 in Tokushige (1974), 450-461.

conform to this framework. One of the first major tests conducted under the auspices of this campaign was the handling of the Urakami Christians.

The preparatory work carried out by the Shin sects was not entirely in vain. Shortly after the initiation of the Great Promulgation Campaign, on January 17th of 1870 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (外務省 *gaimushō*) gave the official order to commence the forced relocation of the entire Urakami Christian community to various internment facilities scattered throughout Japan.⁴³ The Ministry of State, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Punishments (刑部省 *Keibushō*), and various local authorities were all involved in this unprecedented national project, and each of these authorities has left a considerable amount of documentation.⁴⁴

All told, 3,383 men, women, and children were uprooted and scattered by boat and over land to twenty-two locations throughout Western Japan: Kagoshima, Hagi (in Chōshū), Tsuwano, Fukuyama, Okayama, Himeji, Matsue, Tottori, Tokushima, Takamatsu, Matsuyama, Tosa, Wakayama, Kōriyama, Furukawa, Iga, Ise Nihongi, Owari (in Nagoya), Daishōji (near Kanazawa), Kanazawa, and Toyama.⁴⁵ In most of these locations, Shinto priests, nativist scholars, and private individuals were charged with minding the Christians. However, in five domains Buddhist temples took charge of the captives: Owari, Kaga, Daishōji/Kanazawa, Toyama, and Hiroshima.⁴⁶

Some of the Urakami Christians did come under the custody of Shin Buddhist temples. Jōdo Shinshū clerics Ishikawa Shundai (石川舜台 1842-1931) and Matsumoto

⁴³ Tokushige (1984), 535.

⁴⁴ See Kataoka in Tanigawa (1972) for a sample of the available materials.

⁴⁵ See Urakawa (1979 vol. 2) for oral histories taken from each internment location.

⁴⁶ Tsukada (1968), 74.

Hakka (松本白華 1838-1926), representatives of East Honganji from Kanazawa, were among those charged with pressing Christians to renounce their faith.⁴⁷ It bears noting that Ishikawa is said to have regarded his experience admonishing Urakami Christians as a useful basis for his later work in prison chaplaincy.⁴⁸ These and other Shin clerics cultivated their rhetorical skills with the captive audience of Urakami Christians before turning to prison proselytization in the late 1870s.

The treatment of the detainees varied depending on the whims of their minders. Matsumoto Hakka records in his journals that children under seven were not separated from their parents, but those over fifteen were chained with rings around their necks.⁴⁹ In some domains, captives were treated relatively kindly and given sufficient food, but other minders employed torture in addition to the techniques of persuasion. Tokushige maintains that Kagoshima, Iga, and Ise appear to have been lenient in comparison with Fukuoka, Hagi, Tsuwano, Tottori, Wakayama, Okayama, Hiroshima, and Kanazawa.⁵⁰

The most frequently cited scholar of the internment is Urakawa Wasaburō (浦川和三郎 1876-1955) who served as priest of the Ōura Cathedral from 1909 until he was appointed bishop of Sendai in 1941. Urakawa was himself the son of a couple from Urakami who had been exiled and interned at Kagoshima.⁵¹ Over a period of years, he conducted interviews and correspondence with the survivors of the internment, and these

⁴⁷ Yoshida vol. 5 (1991), 204. For information about Ishikawa's role, see *Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai-shi* (1927), 627-631.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Cited in Tokushige (1984), 598.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 537.

⁵¹ See the entry for Urakawa Wasaburō in *NKRJ* (1988).

testimonies are recorded in his *Resurrection of the Christians* (キリシタンの復活 *Kirishitan no Fukkatsu*, 1927). It is in the nature of such testimonies, provided years after the events in question, that they often blur the lines between imagination and reality. However, these accounts, known by the traditional name “Stories of the Journey” (旅の話 *tabi no hanashi*), remain central to the collective memory of the Nagasaki Catholic community, and have even taken on something of the status of a popular local legend.⁵²

Urakawa provides records of the oral and written testimony of survivors from each domain. Rather than attempting to provide a comprehensive picture, I will focus here on the details of the internment and admonition (*kyōkai*) of internees in just one location staffed by Buddhist priests: Kanazawa. (Many of the internees sent to Daishōji were later moved to Kanazawa, so the detention centers at Kanazawa and Daishōji appear to have functioned in tandem). It bears noting that various terms were used to refer to the handling of these detainees, including persuasion (教諭 *kyōyu*), remonstrance (説諭 *setsuyu*), and admonition (教誨 *kyōkai*). Despite the fluidity of the language, the Buddhist ministry to Christian detainees is the forerunner of prison chaplaincy, and so we may follow Tokushige by referring to the whole enterprise as one of admonition (*kyōkai*).⁵³

Kanazawa provides a useful case study because both Christian and Buddhist accounts of the internment there survive. Urakawa reports that some 566 persons were exiled to Kanazawa (in Kaga domain). Of these, 464 eventually returned to Nagasaki

⁵² For the origin of the term, see Urakawa (1979 vol. 2). On a research trip to Urakami Cathedral in Nagasaki in May of 2016, I saw floor-to-ceiling banners bearing the admonition “Do not forget our ancestors’ Stories of the Journey.”

⁵³ Tokushige uses the term *kyōkai* throughout to refer to the treatment of the Urakami Christians. See the table of contents in Tokushige (1984).

after the ban on Christianity was lifted without ever surrendering their Christian faith; 109 died, thirty-six renounced Christianity, and one escaped. Forty-four infants were born in detention.⁵⁴

In order to carry out the instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, three domainal officials from Kanazawa were dispatched to Nagasaki to transport the detainees.⁵⁵ Before boarding a steamer at Ōhato port in Nagasaki, one of these officials, evidently never having seen a Christian before, is said to have asked the captives, “Is it true that the followers of the Christian sect practice magic or not?” One of the internees replied, “We absolutely cannot. If I could, would I be here right now? I would be flying like a bird over the sea or anywhere else. It’s because we can’t do anything of the sort that we have all been rounded up here so easily by you.”⁵⁶ The detainees were shipped to Osaka where they lodged overnight before transferring to another steamer for transport to Daishōji in Kashū domain. From Daishōji, the detainees were eventually marched more than forty-six kilometers to Kanazawa. Urakawa writes that detainees recalled with bitterness that they were counted like cattle (一匹, 二匹 *ippiki, nihiki*, etc.) by their minders during the course of their journey.⁵⁷

When they arrived in Kanazawa, the detainees were housed in a large two-story building equipped with a fire and a bath with no fence or guard posted. While held in this facility, the Christians were periodically subjected to group lectures and individual

⁵⁴ Urakawa (1979 vol. 2), 730.

⁵⁵ Urakawa does not provide a date.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 694.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 699.

persuasion sessions conducted by Shin Buddhist priests who had been newly appointed as evangelists with the Great Promulgation Campaign.

The Ōtani-ha priest Matsumoto Hakka was one of those responsible for lecturing to internees at Kanazawa. He was only thirty-one years old at the time, but he produced a journal (備忘漫録 *Bibōmanroku*, 1870) detailing his version of events. Matsumoto's journal is included in the prewar *Meiji Buddhism Collection*, vol. 8: *Defending the Dharma* (明治仏教全集 *Meiji Bukkyō Zenshū*, vol. 8: 護法編 *Gohō-hen*).⁵⁸ Two years after the events described in his journal, Matsumoto would be appointed to a post in the Ministry of Doctrine (教部省 *kyōbushō*) before being dispatched together with Ishikawa Shundai on the Ōtani-ha expedition to Europe.⁵⁹ After his return to Europe he rose to prominence in the sect as a champion of reforms, and he is remembered today for raising money for the scholar Nanjō Bunyū and others to study Sanskrit in Europe.

Matsumoto's journal provides a detailed account of the content of his sermons and provides extensive details about how Shin Buddhists came to take charge of the internees in Kanazawa. In January of 1870, Saigenji temple (西源寺 *Shinshū*, Honganji-ha) and Saishōji (西勝寺 *Shinshū*, Ōtani-ha) temple wrote to the town office (市政局 *shiseikyoku*) requesting permission to be given the chance to persuade (*kyōyu*) the captives starting on the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month.⁶⁰ Three other Ōtani-ha temples in the vicinity followed suit with letters of their own. Ultimately, Seigenji, Seishōji, and Enchōji (圓長寺, *Shinshū* Ōtani-ha) were granted permission to evangelize

⁵⁸ *Meiji Bukkyō Zenshū* vol. 8 (1935), ed. by Tokiwa Daijō and Tokushige Asakichi, p. 465.

⁵⁹ See the *KSDJ* entry for Matsumoto Hakka. *KSDJ* is available through the Japan Knowledge Database at www.japanknowledge.com (accessed 4.21.2017).

⁶⁰ Cited in Tokushige (1984), 550.

the Christians. Matsumoto Hakka and Ishikawa Shundai were among those responsible for giving sermons.⁶¹ From Matsumoto's account, it is clear that the impetus for placing Shin Buddhists in charge of the Christian detainees stemmed from the initiative taken by the Buddhists themselves.

Defending the Dharma: Matsumoto Hakka's Sermon to the Urakami Christians

The Christians were interned in Kanazawa for at least two years, and Shin priests took turns sermonizing. According to his journals, Matsumoto delivered at least two sermons to the Urakami Christians to convince them to abandon their faith. I examine here the text of his first sermon as it is reproduced in his journal.⁶²

Matsumoto's thesis is simple: it is legally, logically, morally, and pragmatically necessary to abandon Christianity and convert (改心 *kaishin*) to Jōdo Shinshū because Christianity is bad for the Japanese. His sermon consists of four primary themes: the illegality of Christianity; the falsehood of its teachings; the conflict between Christian teaching and the virtues of filial piety and loyalty; and the practical benefits of converting to Buddhism.

First, he asserts that the Christian faith is illegal because it harms the nation. He does not specify the nature of the harm. Instead, he explains that for generations the penalty for following the forbidden sect has been death. It is only because of the benevolence (慈悲 *jishi*) of the ruler that these Christians are to be persuaded to abandon their faith rather than killed. The emperor, he claims, hopes for the Christians to "return"

⁶¹ Matsumoto, *Bibōmanroku*, qtd. in *ibid.*, 552-561.

⁶² This section follows the journal reproduced in *ibid.*

to their rightful status as loyal subjects (良民に立ち戻る *ryōmin ni tachimodoru*) and to continue their work as good farmers. Matsumoto then explains that Japan is home to three Ways (道 *michi*): Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism. These three are the Great Ways of the realm, but the teaching (教 *kyō*) of Christianity does not amount to a Way for the Japanese people. The invocation of a Way reflects the rhetoric of the Great Promulgation Campaign and its drive to unite the Japanese people through a Great Way (大道 *daidō*).⁶³ Moreover, he invokes the emperor to sanctify the work of farming, implying that such labor is a sacred duty. His assertion is that the emperor does not want the Christians to be executed, but rather hopes that they will continue their labor for the sake of the realm. The assertion of the sacred responsibility to work must not go unnoticed: prison chaplains engage in similar exhortations to worldly labor in subsequent generations.

Second, Matsumoto argues that the teaching of the Christian faith is a mere fabrication. In support of this claim, he declares that although the biblical creation story places the age of the Earth at some 7,000 years, this is certainly false—the Japanese Islands themselves have over 7,000 years of history, he proclaims, making them older than the age of the Earth according to Christianity. Thus, the Christian doctrine suffers from both logical and historical defects. It is notable that Matsumoto does not invoke either the truth of Buddhist doctrine or any information related to the history of Buddhism to support his argument. Rather, his argument assumes the historical veracity of ancient Japanese myths recorded in the *Kojiki* (古事記, 712 CE) which traces the history of Japan back to the mythological Age of the Kami. Here too he is tailoring his

⁶³ The next chapter discusses the Great Promulgation Campaign at length.

presentation to the requirements of the Great Promulgation Campaign with its emphasis on the symbols and mythology of Shinto.

Third, Matsumoto argues that the Christian prohibition against worshipping idols amounts to nothing less than a denial of the veneration of ancestors. He believes that Christianity is in conflict with the virtues of filial piety and its concomitant obligation to repay the kindness of one's lord with similar loyalty. He makes a series of rhetorical linkages: obedience to one's parents is connected to ancestor veneration; ancestor veneration is enacted through the veneration of Buddha images; and finally, these virtues are precisely mirrored in obedience to the emperor and his law.

There is a ritual context for understanding Matsumoto's attempt to link filial piety, ancestor veneration, veneration of Buddha images, and obedience to the law of the sovereign. Urakawa's accounts emphasize that those Urakami Christians being tended by Buddhist priests were pressured to perform obeisances before Buddha images to symbolize their renunciation.⁶⁴ Buddhist ritual was an essential means for actualizing change of heart (改心 *kaishin*). Change of heart was ultimately understood as a matter of willingly performing this ritual under the gaze of the minders. We will see in chapter four that the installment of Buddha images in prison facilities was an essential component of the expansion of chaplaincy. There too, the doctrinal logic links the performance of Buddhist ritual to the cultivation of the heart.

Matsumoto does not consider the fact that the parents of the Urakami Christians were also Christians who presumably desired for their children to continue the tradition. It is as if he does not recognize the possibility that filial piety and political obedience

⁶⁴ See Urakawa (1979 vol. 2), 741-5.

could be at odds. There is reason to believe that this is not merely an oversight: the doctrinal framework within which Matsumoto is working does not allow for the possibility of conflict between filial piety and political obedience any more than a Platonic framework would admit that the true can be the enemy of the good. In Matsumoto's framing, both ancestors and the dharma (the good) are aligned with the law of the sovereign. In the following chapters, we will see that prison chaplains too draw the connection between filial piety and law-abiding behavior. Prison chaplains carry forward a modern iteration of the longstanding theme of unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign.

Finally, Matsumoto maintains that true doctrines must result in karmic rewards in this very life (此世の果報 *kono yo no kahō*). But what of Christianity?

Are you getting enough to eat? Are you not deprived of your freedom? Are you not cold? This Christian doctrine does not produce karmic rewards even in this life, so the claim that believers will be reborn in Heaven is obviously a lie.⁶⁵

He concludes by arguing that the Christians have an obligation to repay their debt to the nation (恩を報じ *on wo hōji*) by converting to Jōdo Shinshū, an accepted doctrine, and denying the forbidden teaching of Christianity. The invocation of a debt (恩 *ōn*) to the nation is implicitly connected to this-worldly benefits, thereby implying that a relationship of reciprocity and mutual benefit exists between the subject and the nation. The term debt (恩 *on*) is connected to the conception of loyalty (to parents, to ancestors, and to the sovereign). The evil of Christianity, which is never explained, appears to be that it disrupts the ideal cycle of reciprocity between subject and nation by introducing an external loyalty. The solution that Matsumoto proposes for the prisoners is that they

⁶⁵ Tokushige (1984), 560.

publicly perform the rejection of this external loyalty by venerating a Buddha image and signing a certificate of conversion to guarantee their change of heart (改信證文 *kaishin shōmon*).⁶⁶ If they simply agree to fulfill these requirements, they will be allowed to go home.

It is clear that Matsumoto Hakka considers loyalty to the Emperor and religious beliefs to be inseparable. Such a distinction had not yet been conceptualized in early Meiji Japan. Thus, the threat posed by Christians amounted to a threat of subversion—the notion that Japanese subjects may reject their obligation (恩 *on*) to the sovereign and the country and prioritize another loyalty. The language used by Buddhists to describe the presence of Christians in Nagasaki provides a clue as to how and why this was perceived as such an existential threat. Their expressions rely on the vocabulary of contagion: “the Christian doctrine is spreading like a disease” (切支丹の教が蔓延している *kirishitan no oshie ga manen shiteiru*).⁶⁷ The logic, it appears, is that the presence of the alien Other within the polity threatens to corrupt the social fabric. The notion of Christian Japanese was threatening because it united two categories (Japanese and Christian) that were regarded as mutually exclusive, thereby revealing the contingency of the prevailing conservative conception of the community. This conjunction was doubly worrisome to Buddhists, for whom the threat of Christianization meant the end of their tradition.

⁶⁶ Matsumoto’s journal reproduces certificates of conversion he created for the Christians to sign so as to guarantee their change of heart. See Matsumoto qtd. in Tokushige (1984), 565-8.

⁶⁷ See the Nishi Honganji documents in Tokushige (1984), 418.

Stories of the Journey: Aikawa Chūeimon and Fukahori Masa

Urakawa preserves the impression of one of the Christian detainees subjected to the remonstrations of Buddhist minders in Kanazawa. Aikawa Chūeimon (相川忠右衛門) was a leader of the Urakami Christians who was detained at Kanazawa. He recalled being summoned to the house of a town magistrate on the pretext of an errand only to find “three or four Buddhist priests (仏僧 *bussō*) and five or six” officials awaiting him.⁶⁸ When he arrived, the priests pressured him to renounce his faith: “Convert (改心しろ, *kaishin shirō*)! In Chūeimon’s story, he recalls challenging the priests: “If you want me to convert, then let me hear of a doctrine (教 *oshie*) worth converting to!”

In Chūeimon’s retelling, the Buddhist priests appear as bumbling incompetents. His story rests on the amusing premise that the Buddhist priests’ hands were tied by the government’s promotion of Shintō doctrine. Thus, rather than presenting him with arguments in favor of their own sectarian doctrines, the Buddhist priests were obligated to pressure him to believe in a creed other than that of their own sect. Chūeimon recasts an interaction that must have been extremely stressful (if not outright traumatic) in a humorous light, thereby preserving his own dignity by making his captors appear foolish.

The priest said, “In Japan, we have the divinities Izanagi and Izanami.”
Chūeimon counted out one on his finger and said, “Great! I learned one new thing.”

The priest continued, “These two divinities went into a Heavenly Rock Cave and that’s where the other kami come from.”

Chūeimon said, “Great! I have learned two new things.” He counted out two on his fingers.

The priest said, “And these kami were originally in a form like smoke.”

Chūeimon said, “Good. I have learned three new things.” He counted a third finger. “And what next?” (Urakawa adds the gloss: “We can only imagine how the priests must have been displeased.”)

⁶⁸ This account is reproduced in Urakawa (1979 vol. 2), 707-709.

The priest said, “Nothing. That’s all there is to it.”
 Chūeimon said, “That’s it? This is precisely what we call a ‘tobacco-shredding-knife’ back at home—it has no head or bottom to it. Even if I did convert to such a stupid doctrine, I would never be saved. No matter what you do to me, I absolutely cannot believe it.”⁶⁹

Chūeimon’s story, like other Stories of the Journey, both emphasizes his commitment to the Christian faith and reflects the judgment that the doctrine espoused by agents of the state was a preposterous hodge-podge, and that those agents themselves were buffoons. This story has a comic quality, buoyed by the redeeming power of Chūeimon’s humor and his ability to laugh at his tormentors. However, many of the other testimonies paint a darker picture.

As a counterpoint to Chūeimon’s story, we may consider a tale from Toyama. Urakawa preserves the recollections of Fukahori Masa (深堀マサ), a woman who was only twelve years of age during her captivity in Toyama.⁷⁰ Masa recalled a group of Buddhist priests, all young adult men, who tormented her, saying that all of the water and food in the land belonged to the Emperor, and that if she ate or drank so much as a drop, it would amount to a renunciation of Christianity. (Today no reasonable person would fail to see this kind of antagonistic behavior as a form of bullying). Despite the maliciousness of these antagonists, Masa recalled the head priest (住職 *jūshoku*) of the temple in which she was housed as a kindly old man who snuck her food and water when the younger men were not present. When the others returned and pressed her, the head priest defended her by denying that she had eaten or had anything to drink. Masa’s childhood recollection serves as evidence that though some priests were enthusiastic in prosecuting the

⁶⁹ Ibid., 709.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 741-5.

campaign against Christianity, there were others who felt conflicted or were reluctant to be involved. Unlike Chūeimon's story, in which he appears as the hero, Masa's unlikely supporter was the sympathetic chief priest.

Reading the accounts recorded by Urakawa, one senses the difficulty of assessing the historical value of oral testimonies gathered years after the events in question. At the same time, these stories testify to the significance of individual memories as a way to shed light on the meaning historical events hold for the persons involved. Despite the difficulties in separating historical fact from imagination, the testimonies are shaped by clear value judgments about the existential significance of the experiences they describe. Chūeimon and Masa both viewed their captivity as unjustifiable and as fundamentally ill-conceived. However, these Christians also shared with Matsumoto Hakka the understanding that the essential point of their captivity revolved around the issue of conversion (改心 *kaishin*). In the Christian narratives, the refusal to convert amounts to a preservation of personal dignity and reinforces the connection between individual identity and group identity as mediated by a shared commitment to Christianity. Both Masa and Chūeimon refused to convert.

On the other side, Matsumoto Hakka claims to have succeeded in converting a number of Christians, counting those who signed certificates of conversion as his successes. By reading the Buddhist and the Christian accounts together, two things become clear. First, two competing value systems are in play. Second, the point of the conversion effort led by Matsumoto and others is precisely to bring the members of the deviant minority community into line with the dominant values espoused by state ideology.

The statistics provided by Urakawa suggest that the effort to convert the Urakami Christians was largely a failed project.⁷¹ Urakawa claims that of 3,414 exiled, only 1,022 persons agreed to convert while 1,882 refused to do so. (Twenty escaped, 664 died, and one hundred and seventy-five children were born). The attempts to force the Urakami Christians to convert did not lead them to take on new identities (as loyal subjects), but rather appear to have reinforced their collective identity as Christians. The fact that the Christian identity of the community was reinforced is readily apparent in the Stories of the Journey. There is also evidence to suggest that the Urakami Christians had their own community based mechanisms to prevent individuals from agreeing to convert. Urakawa relates the stories of those who relented and gave up the faith in the early days of the persecution before the exile.

Those who returned home having been released on the grounds of conversion bore their shame and returned only to find their families furious. “Those who have converted shall be judged by God! If we allow them into our homes, then it is said that we too must bear the association of their sins!” They had made a grave mistake. Thinking so, neither their parents nor their siblings would visit them.⁷²

Clearly, there was some precedent among the Urakami Christians for shunning those who agreed to give up their faith. By contrast, those of the first group of detainees who managed to refuse the pressure to convert were treated as heroes of the faith (信仰の勇者 *shinkō no yūsha*).⁷³ Thus, the social mechanism of shunning and the distribution of accolades within the community were likely to have continued to exert an influence throughout the mass relocation and detention. If individual consciences are formed in

⁷¹ Urakawa (1979 vol. 2), 752-3. Urakawa’s statistics differ from those cited above from Kataoka’s more recent study.

⁷² Urakawa (1979), 556-7.

⁷³ Ibid.

community, then individuals from the Urakami Christian community would have had powerful incentives for refusing to give up their faith.

Conclusions: “Changing Hearts” for Social Order

The doctrinal foundations, political negotiations, and rituals of repentance and reintegration that we have seen in the Shin Buddhist response to the Urakami Christians represent precedents for Buddhist participation in a much larger project of social engineering developed in the later Meiji period: the penal system. These are the threads we will follow in subsequent chapters on the development of the prison chaplaincy. In sum, the doctrinal theme is unity of dharma and law. The political dimension refers to the agency of religious groups in pressing for the expansion of chaplaincy. The ritual component gestures to the understanding that ritual serves as a means to cultivate the heart (心 *kokoro*) in order to bring it into harmony with conventional morality.

We have seen that the doctrinal foundation for Shin involvement in the Urakami Christian affair is the ideal of the unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign. In the petitions made by Shin sects to the government regarding the management of the Urakami Christians, a vision of that unity is readily apparent: “The responsibility of proselytizing to the populace falls with the followers of Shakyamuni.” In Matsumoto Hakka’s sermon, we see an example of this doctrine at work: veneration of the Buddha image is tantamount to an expression of loyalty to the sovereign.

Both the administrative documents and Matsumoto’s sermon indicate that the Shin sects maintained a political philosophy rooted in their doctrinal understanding of the nature of the human person. The contents of the hearts (心 *kokoro*) of the people are

understood as integral to the social order, and the rightful role of the sect institution is seen as mediating between the sovereign and the people by guiding the hearts of the masses through proselytization. Doctrinal admonition (*kyōkai*) and related terms like persuasion (*kyōyū*) and remonstrance (*setsuyu*) name a strategy for accomplishing this mediation. This is precisely the nature of the work that Matsumoto Hakka and others were involved in during the internment of the Christians.

Second, the political dimension to the case of the Urakami Christians reveals the agency of the Shin sects in pressing for their policy objectives even against state opposition. The government did not approach the Shin sects to request their assistance with the matter of the Urakami Christians and even refused it when was offered: “they are not to be admonished (*kyōkai*) based on the doctrine of your sect.” Despite this refusal, when the mass of Urakami Christians were exiled, temples of East and West branches of Honganji turned to regional authorities and managed to take responsibility of the Christians. Kanazawa represents one case study of this process. The political negotiations surrounding the involvement of Shin Buddhists in this affair indicate that the unity of dharma and the law was not a reality, but rather an ideal (or a policy objective) promoted by the Shin sects.

Finally, both the Urakami Christians and their Shin Buddhist minders were keenly focused on rituals intended to prove the status of a person’s faith or the authenticity of a conversion. Matsumoto’s certificates of conversion (改信證文 *kaishin shōmon*) are a case in point.⁷⁴ For the Christians, the emphasis on conversion remains, but the polarity is reversed, so that the testimonies recorded by Urakawa are structured around

⁷⁴ See the example in Tokushige (1984), 567.

performances of resistance. Chūeimon, Masa and others emphasize their refusal to convert, their unwillingness to submit to the authority of their captors, and their solidarity with the Christian community. Urakawa himself is not a disinterested reporter: he peppers his accounts with editorial comments about the weakness or insufficiency of the faith of those who opted to renounce so as to be allowed to return home.⁷⁵ From all of this, it appears as though those Christians and Buddhists involved in this episode assumed that the public renunciation of faith amounted to a “change of heart” (改心 *kaishin*). In this case, the content of the heart (心 *kokoro*) is never framed solely as an internal or individual matter of belief. Rather, the heart is always imagined in relation to ritual performances, open to public display, and a declaration of either group solidarity or the assumption of a new social identity. We will see moving forward that rituals intended to cultivate the heart also serve to make the heart visible to an external authority. For example, the practice of signing written documents to guarantee change of heart is not limited to Matsumoto’s certificates of conversion. Directed writing exercises focused on repentance are a mainstay of the contemporary prison chaplain’s repertoire.⁷⁶ These too are intended both to actualize and to demonstrate a change of heart.

Ultimately, all of the Christian detainees were ordered released in March of 1873 regardless of whether or not they had abandoned their faith. The captives, now freed, made their way home to Nagasaki, and the oral tradition of the Stories of the Journey developed as former captives rebuilt their community. Though these narratives are well known, the eager participation of Shin Buddhists in this campaign of persecution has

⁷⁵ See Urakawa’s discussion of the Certificates of Conversion. For example, there is an invocation of “minions of the devil.” Urakawa (1979 vol. 1), 565.

⁷⁶ See the Honganji-ha *Chaplain’s Manual*. Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Kyōkaishi Hikkei hensan iinkai (2003), 257.

largely been overlooked. However, prison chaplains have historically acknowledged that this work prepared Shin Buddhists for involvement in prison proselytization. For example, the official history of prison chaplaincy (日本監獄教誨史 *Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai-shi*) published by both branches of Jōdo Shinshū in 1927 states that Matsumoto Hakka conducted the first *kyōkai* sessions in Kanazawa with the Christian detainees.⁷⁷ Thus, we know that training materials used by later generations of Shin chaplains recognized the significance of the incarceration and forced conversion of the Urakami Christian as a forerunner to prison chaplaincy.

In the handling of the Urakami Christians, the practice of admonition (*kyōkai*) developed as a transformation of the institutional arrangements seen in the temple registration system. The traditional ban on Christianity and the role of Buddhist temples in enforcing that prohibition created the conditions for Shinshū to attempt to renegotiate its relationship to the state by appealing to its role in managing the threat posed by Christianity. Though the Meiji state scrapped the mandatory temple registration system, Buddhist sects—most notably Shin Buddhists—sought ways to retain the sect's traditional involvement in the maintenance of social order.

⁷⁷ NKKS (1927), 743-745.

Chapter 3

Establishing the Vocation:

From the Great Promulgation Campaign to the Prison Chaplaincy

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the development of the prison chaplaincy from its inception as a grassroots movement until its official incorporation into the prison system. The early history of the prison chaplaincy can be divided into two distinct phases, each indexed to broad changes in the legal framework governing religion. The first phase (the grassroots phase) corresponds to the Great Promulgation Campaign (大教宣布運動 *Daikyō Senpu Undō* 1870-1884) and the initiation of the national instructor system (教導職 *kyōdōshoku*), covering the early Meiji period from 1870-1889. The second phase (the establishment phase) corresponds to the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution (大日本帝国憲法 *Dai Nihon Teikoku Kenpō*, 1889) and the Imperial Rescript on Education (教育ニ関スル勅語 *Kyōiku ni kan suru Chokugo*, October 30th of 1891) and the following decade, covering the mid-to late Meiji period (1889-1903). This chapter focuses on the first phase of the prison chaplaincy. I explore how the prison chaplaincy emerged from the ranks of the national instructors and clarify the role of Shin Buddhism (sects, doctrines, and practices) in laying the foundations for the prison chaplaincy.

I argue that the prison chaplain (教誨師 *kyōkaishi*) is the “spiritual successor” to the national instructor system (教導職 *kyōdōshoku*) initiated by the Great Promulgation Campaign for two reasons. First, because all of the earliest prison chaplains started out as

national instructors. Second, because the philosophy and ideals of correctional rehabilitation (矯正 *kyōsei*) inherited concepts from Great Promulgation Campaign discourse even after that Campaign collapsed. For example, we encountered the religio-legal concept of “change of heart” (改心 *kaishin*) in the previous chapter where it referred to the conversion of Urakami Christians. In this chapter, we will see that the same concept figured in the Great Promulgation Campaign and later informed correctional discourse. In both instances, “change of heart” refers to a transformation into a law-abiding subject. For prison chaplains, this change of heart is connected to both the goal of correctional rehabilitation and sectarian concepts of salvation.

Problems: Public Ethics, Religion, and Kokoro

Much of the debate surrounding religion in the Meiji period focused on drawing distinctions between those commitments which are rightfully public (公 *ōyake*) and hence obligatory and those which can be relegated to a private realm (私 *shi*) of personal beliefs and individual preferences.¹ The Great Promulgation Campaign was an effort by the state to indoctrinate the whole population into a public morality. Recent scholarship has clarified the role of Shin Buddhists like Shimaji Mokurai (島地黙雷 1838-1911) who responded to the Great Promulgation Campaign by advocating for separation of religion from state (政教分離 *seikyō bunri*), freedom of religion (信仰の自由 *shinkō no jiyū*),

¹ Kramer (2015) has argued that the concept of privatized religion (宗教 *shūkyō*) was defined in contradistinction to the Confucian notion of a public teaching (治教 *jikyō*). Prison chaplains have not used the language of *jikyō*, so I do not engage with this topic here.

and a right to private beliefs.² The story of the prison chaplaincy complicates our understanding of the role of Shin Buddhists in the debates surrounding freedom of religion by considering Shin Buddhist arguments connecting their own doctrines to the legal obligations incumbent upon all Japanese subjects.

This chapter explores the relationship between the Great Promulgation Campaign and the development of a modern correctional system. Both of these state projects were attempts to discipline and indoctrinate the population into a public morality.³ However, it was not the state, but religionists themselves who first sought to introduce their proselytization work to the prison system. Prison proselytization began with national instructors who petitioned for access to the incarcerated. As the Great Promulgation Campaign slowly collapsed from 1875, the prison system expanded, and religionists continued to petition for access to prisons and jails. Shin Buddhists were particularly active in prison proselytization. By the late Meiji, most prison chaplains were Shin Buddhists.

One of the key tasks of this dissertation is to provide an account of the evolution of “the discourse of chaplaincy” (教誨論 *kyōkairon*). *Kyōkairon* can be viewed as a form of Buddhist theodicy in that it provides a religious interpretation of the problem of evil and the nature of crime and punishment (discussed in chapter 1). This discourse is a modernist mode of Shin doctrine tailored to the needs of the correctional system.

² On Shimaji Mokurai, see Kramer (2015), Yamaguchi (2013). On Shin Buddhism in general, see Blum and Rhodes (2011).

³ Japanese scholars of Buddhism sometimes use the term “secular ethics” (世俗倫理 *sezoku rinri*) to refer to the presentation of Buddhist ethics as a form of public morality. See, for example, Ienaga, Akamatsu, and Tamamuro (1967), 85-90. Yasumaru and others have referred to a “conventional morality” (通俗道德 *tsūzoku dōtoku*) to refer to the ethical sensibilities that characterize popular thought in the early modern and modern period. See, for example, Yasumaru (2013).

However, it is also a Buddhist vision of a public morality to which all Japanese are held to owe allegiance. This morality emphasizes obligations to the state (国恩 *koku'on*) with reference to the transcendent law of karma (因果応報 *inga ōhō*).⁴ In this chapter, we will explore the origins of this discourse in the Great Promulgation Campaign. In order to train their national instructors, Shin sects developed a “general Buddhist curriculum” (仏法通論 *buppō tsūron*) in which sectarian particularities were minimized and trans-sectarian doctrines highlighted. The aim was to connect the transcendent law of karma (a core doctrine shared by all Buddhist sects) to the law of the state. This general Buddhist curriculum laid the foundations for a Buddhist vision of public morality that might be shared by all Buddhist sects. The general Buddhist curriculum of the Shin national instructors is the forerunner to the discourse of the chaplaincy.

Another essential task of this dissertation is to consider how prison chaplaincy relates to matters of the heart (心 *kokoro*). In this chapter I will show that in both the Great Promulgation Campaign and the correctional system, the heart is regarded as the locus of moral personhood—the source of agency from which individual and collective actions flow. For this reason, the hearts of the people (民心 *minshin*) are a matter of public (state) concern, and they become the objects of indoctrination and disciplinary intervention. On the other hand, advocates for freedom of religion conceive of the heart as the internal, private dimension wherein religious freedom should be exercised without constraints imposed by state ideologues. If both privatized religion and public morality

⁴ The entry for *kyōkai* in *Bukkyōgo Daijiten* (2007) gives the general topics of *kyōkai* as follows: 1.) indebtedness to the nation (国恩 *koku'on*); 2.) indebtedness to parents (親の恩 *oya no on*); and 3.) self-reflection (自己反省 *jikō hansei*). I contend that this list is incomplete without recognizing the centrality of the law of karma to the discourse of the chaplaincy.

have rightful claims to the hearts of the people, how can the two be distinguished? How does Shin advocacy for prison chaplaincy—with its conservative, law-abiding morality and claims to public legitimacy—relate to Shin advocacy for religious freedom?

The Great Promulgation Campaign and Benevolent Punishments

From April 17th of 1892, Honganji-ha sponsored a week-long conference of the Eastern Division of chaplains (東部 *Tōbu*) at the Tsukiji Honganji Betsu-in in Tokyo.⁵ This event was one of the first prison chaplain's conferences. One of the invited speakers at the Tokyo prison chaplains' conference was the sixty-one year old Ōta Kenjū (多田賢住 1831-1910).⁶ Ōta was the 23rd abbot of the Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha temple Shinkō-ji (真光寺) located in Tsukiji in Tokyo. He was a member of the first generation of chaplains who began preaching to the incarcerated in the early 1870s.

A transcript of the conference record survives. In his speech, Ōta informs the junior chaplains (those who began their work in the 1880s and 1890s) that they are the inheritors to a tradition of prison chaplaincy with thirty years of history (1872-1892). He explains the origins of the vocation as follows:

In the third month of the fifth year of Meiji (1872), the Jingikan was abolished and the Ministry of Doctrine (教部省 *Kyōbusho*) was established. The Three Principles were promulgated, and the Great Teaching Institute (*Daikyōin*) was established. The office of national instructor was created for all sects of Shintō and Buddhism, and so it was that we were to preach in accordance with the three principles of the Great Promulgation Campaign. After that, I believe it must have been in the fifth month of the sixth year of Meiji (1873) that the Revised Penal Code (仮定刑律令 *katei keiritsuryō*) was promulgated. At the same time, the old penal grounds (徒刑場 *tokeiba*) were reformed into labor camps (懲役場 *chōeki-ba*). In short, the physical punishments, penalties like caning, were abandoned. As

⁵ *KGKS* (1927), 138-146.

⁶ For biographical information on Ōta, see Miyake (2015), 109-10.

the saying goes, hate the sin, not the sinner (罪を悪んで、人を悪まず *aku o nikunde hito o nikumazu*). It was then that the Shinshū sects petitioned the Great Teaching Institute to be permitted to enter the labor camps to preach (説教 *sekkyō*). I was one of those who filed such a request. Then, at the end of the deliberations, the director of the Great Teaching Institute made the request of the Ministry of Doctrine, and in the sixth month of the seventh year of Meiji (1874), we were officially granted permission. I went into Tsukudajima labor camp (which is now Ishikawajima Jail) to preach there. I think this was probably the very beginning of prison chaplaincy. At that time, lots of different sects were doing it at once. We had five people coming in from the Shin sects, and two from other sects as well. We were going in every Sunday. We went to the twenty-two separate group cells and each of us was conducting our own prison chaplaincy session. I suppose looking back on it today it was quite disorganized.⁷

Ōta's speech points to two institutional and legal transformations that made possible the vocation of prison chaplaincy in early Meiji Japan. The first of these is the Great Promulgation Campaign. We have seen already that Matsumoto Hakka and others responsible for remonstrating with hidden Christians did so under the auspices of state policies promoting an ideological turn to Shinto. The imprisoned Christian leader Chūeimon ridiculed his Buddhist minders for what he judged to be their ham-fisted handling of Shinto concepts to which they could not have been truly committed. However, the implications of this campaign extend far beyond the management of the Urakami Christians. By 1872, the campaign evolved into an attempt by the state to harness all religions into a national creed for the purpose of unifying the populace.

In the following section, we will leave behind the Urakami Christians to focus more specifically on the Great Promulgation Campaign as a watershed moment in the development of modern religious vocations. The campaign was an attempt to force uniformity onto the complex world of Japanese religions by compelling all religionists to fit into the vocational role of national instructors (教導職 *kyōdōshoku*) as defined by state

⁷ This excerpt is qtd. in *ibid.*, 146. See also *Dai Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai Tsūshin sho* (1892), 95-96 for the original text.

authorities. The hallmark of this vocation was the work of indoctrinating the populace into the public morality promoted by state ideologues.

After discussing the Great Promulgation Campaign, we will turn to the second factor Ōta mentioned: the development of a prison system based on punishment by deprivation of liberty (自由刑 *jiyūkei*). The reformation of punishments produced a captive audience for the newly instituted national instructors while simultaneously providing a testing ground for new (self-consciously “modern”) modes of religious practice. Ōta maintains that the prison chaplaincy developed from relative disorganization during the days of the Great Promulgation Campaign into an organized vocation by 1892. The development of the modern penal system provided an avenue for the energies of the national instructors even as the Great Promulgation Campaign itself began its slow collapse beginning with the departure of the Shin Buddhist sects in 1875. In what follows, I contextualize the origins of the prison chaplaincy in relation to the rise and fall of the Great Promulgation Campaign and the simultaneous establishment of the educative model of punishment.

Restoring The Ministry of Divinities

The Great Promulgation Campaign has its roots in the ideological justifications behind the Meiji Restoration.⁸ The ideologues who supported the Restoration saw it as an opportunity to realize the unity of rites and government (祭政一致 *saisei ichi*).⁹

Throughout the late Tokugawa period (1603-1868), this political ideal had been promoted

⁸ On the connection between the Restoration and the ideological project of unifying rites and government, see Yasumaru (2013), 4-7.

⁹ On *saisei ichi*, see Inoue and Sakamoto (1987), Murakami (1970), Sakamoto (2006), Yasumaru (1979), and Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988).

by scholars of National Learning (国学 *kokugaku*), a proto-nationalist movement committed to the belief that in ancient times the Japanese islands had been an earthly paradise under the benevolent rule of a line of divine Emperors.¹⁰ Proponents of National Learning like Aizawa Seishisai (会沢正志齋 1781-1863) imagined Japan as a sacred national polity or *kokutai* (国体)—a special land, subject to divine protection and the blessings of the Kami, in whose name the divine emperor must rule.¹¹ According to this vision, the future of Japan depended upon restoring the lost unity of rites and government by returning the Emperor and the imperial institution to their rightful place at the apex of political power.

Part of the appeal of this ideal was that it amounted to a tacit criticism of the de facto rulers of Japan, the shogun and his government. In the waning years of the shogunate, widespread concern about foreign invasion and domestic instability coalesced around a political vision of restoring imperial rule. Under the banner of “revere the emperor, expel the barbarians” (尊皇攘夷 *sonnō jōi*),¹² samurai leaders of the Satsuma and Chōshū domains toppled the shogunate in 1868 and announced the dawning of the new era of Meiji (明治) or “Enlightened Rule.”¹³

An ideological faction among the new leadership was committed to a “return” to the fabled golden age. In accordance with that aspiration, in one of its first public acts,

¹⁰ On *kokugaku*, see Burns (2004), Hardacre (2016), Harootunian (1988), Isomae (2000), McNally (2005), and Walthall (1998).

¹¹ On the ideal of the *kokutai*, see Aizawa Seishisai as translated by Wakabayashi (1986).

¹² The popularity of this phrase during the *bakumatsu* period may be attributed to its inclusion in the *New Theses* (新論 *Shinron*) of the Mito scholar Aizawa Seishisai (会沢正志齋 1782-1863). See Wakabayashi (1986).

¹³ For a concise survey of the Meiji Restoration, see Jansen in Jansen ed., (2008), 308-360.

the regime issued an order to re-establish a Ministry of Divinities (神祇官 *jingikan*)¹⁴ as the highest organ of state on March 13th of 1868:¹⁵

祭政一致ノ制度ニ復シ神祇官ヲ再興シ [...] 諸神社神主等神祇官ニ附属セシムルヲ令ス

It is hereby ordered that the system of unity of rites and government will be restored; that the Ministry of Divinities will be reestablished; [...] and that all shrines and shrine priests are to be subordinate to the Ministry of Divinities.¹⁶

The Restoration Ministry of Divinities was envisioned as the resurrection of a system of governance that had been defunct for over a millenium. Along with the Department of State (太政官 *Dajōkan*), the original Ministry of Divinities had been one of two central institutions of government under the *Ritsuryō* (律令) legal system established in the 7th century—a time that was imagined as the golden age of imperial rule. Undergirding the proposal to return to such a system was the belief that the realm could best be unified by the ritual power of a divinely descended monarch responsible for worshipping the Kami.¹⁷ The Shinto priesthood, “subordinated to the Ministry of Divinities,” would be responsible for coordinating local rites with those of the sovereign, thereby binding the people and the sovereign together in harmony. In theory, benevolence would flow from sovereign to subjects, who would return the imperial favor with loyalty and a spirit of service.

¹⁴ On the *jingikan*, see the entry in Sonoda and Hashimoto (2004), 499.

On the *Ritsuryō* *Jingikan*, see also Hardacre (2016), 29-40.

¹⁵ The Ministry of Divinities (*Jingikan*) was the highest organ of state in name only. The Department of State (*Dajōkan*) was really in charge. See Sakamoto in Inoue and Sakamoto (1987), 19.

¹⁶ Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 425.

¹⁷ For this description, I have relied on Hardacre (2016), 2.

Despite their victorious campaign and the ambitious ideals of the National Learning ideologues who supported them, the new leadership was initially unsure how to solidify their power. They were concerned in particular about internal factionalism and the threat of foreign invasion—the same pressures that had brought about the demise of the Shogunate. The unity of rites and rule offered a possible solution to these dual threats predicated on the idea that the populace would willingly support the Emperor and those who governed in his name. In practice, however, achieving such unity necessitated more than a change of political administration. The new rulers perceived that it was necessary for them to shape the hearts and minds of the populace.

Promoting a Public Ethic

The Meiji government's first attempt at promoting its ideology began with an effort to distinguish its rationale from that of the Tokugawa. As we saw in the previous chapter, the new regime ended the state's longstanding relationship with the Buddhist temple institutions patronized by the Tokugawa through a series of edicts promulgated through March and April of 1868 that separated the Buddhas from the Kami.¹⁸ We have seen that these edicts invited the excesses of anti-Buddhist movements that flared up around the country, ultimately forcing the state to back-pedal.

In addition to its denial of the Tokugawa order, the new rulers also set out to affirm and promote their own ideology. Under the auspices of the Ministry of Divinities, the state established a new vocation to promulgate the “Great Way of the Kami” (惟神ノ

¹⁸ The orders are reproduced in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 425-6.

大道 *Kannagara no Daidō*) for the Japanese people on January 3rd of 1870.¹⁹ This date marks the initiation of the Great Promulgation Campaign. A corps of Shinto evangelists (宣教使 *senkyōshi*) were drawn from the ranks of National Learning scholars and Shinto priests to disseminate the official ideology throughout the country.²⁰ Although the Ministry of Divinities had been billed as a return to ancient precedents, the evangelists were an innovation.²¹ We will see shortly that this innovation catalyzed the development of other modern modes of religious vocation.

A considerable body of scholarship addressing the Great Promulgation Campaign has developed in recent years.²² Ogawara captures the dual aims of the campaign concisely: 1.) the promotion of a Great Way (大道 *daidō*) for the Japanese people grounded in Shinto and centered around the symbol of the Emperor; and 2.) the prevention of the Christianization of the Japanese populace.²³ The campaign was intended to realize the Restoration project of unifying rites and government (祭政一致 *saisei itchi*) and to solve the problems posed by internal factionalism and the threat of foreign powers.

When the evangelists were first appointed, the content of their official creed remained nebulous. The evangelists were issued a handbook, *Guidelines for Evangelists* (

¹⁹ The order is reproduced in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 431.

²⁰ See the entry for *senkyōshi* in Sonoda and Hashimoto (2004), 599; and also in Miyaji (1986), 862.

²¹ See the footnote for *senkyō no kan* in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 232. In his petition to establish a Ministry of Doctrine to replace the Ministry of Divinities, Shimaji Mokurai avoided referring to the Jingikan by its proper name and referred to it as the Missionary Office (*senkyō no kan*). This was perhaps a tacit criticism.

²² On the Great Promulgation Campaign, see Hardacre (1989) and (2016), Maxey (2014), Miyake (2007) and (2015), Ogawara (2004), Thal (2005)

²³ Ogawara (2004), i. The imperial proclamation announcing the campaign is included in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 431.

宣教心得書 *Senkyō Kokoroe Sho*, 1870), which provides an articulation of their

responsibilities but evinces the lack of a unifying doctrine:

You are responsible to obey royal commands; to travel throughout the provinces from border to border, and to meet with the regional authorities. In accordance with their instructions, you are to preach (教諭 *kyōyu*) as required to Shinto priests, to village headmen, to elders and the young, to both men and women. You are to organize the people into groups, construct a schedule, and have them assemble for meetings. Read to them from the classics (教典 *kyōten*). Provide comprehensive lectures and instructions.²⁴

The evangelists were first and foremost public preachers tasked with spreading the “Good News” of the restoration and the unity of rites and government to local communities throughout the Japanese provinces. They were instructed to preach (教諭 *kyōyu*) to virtually everyone save, apparently, the Buddhist priesthood. The classics from which they read likely included both Confucian texts and Japanese works favored by Kokugaku scholars (to the exclusion of Buddhist literature). However, there was no central doctrine, no authoritative interpretation for these texts, and no unifying training for the evangelists. They were selected from among established authorities rather than promoted through vocational training or an educational program. Thus, the collective amounted to a disunited corps of traveling teachers tasked with promoting public morality, civic virtues, and respect for the authorities—with no established method for accomplishing these goals.

Despite the lack of doctrinal unity among the evangelists, it is possible to gain a sense of the idealized expectations of them. The evangelists were not only tasked with public preaching. They were also officially charged with monitoring the conduct of the

²⁴ This text is cited in the entry for *senkyō kokoroe sho* in Miyaji (1986), 862. It is also reproduced in Yasumaru and Miyaj (1988), 431-2.

people, and they were expected to employ the means of persuasion (教諭 *kyōyu*) to change the hearts of evil-doers.

At your destinations, if you encounter filial children, righteous young men, faithful wives, or others distinguished by their virtuous conduct, talents, or capacities, you are to report this to the regional authorities. Furthermore, if you encounter those who oppose the good, who trouble the good people (良民ヲ病シメ *ryōmin wo yamashime*), who engage in licentious or violent conduct, or who otherwise engage in evil (悪 *aku*) actions or harbor evil intentions, you are to inform the family and the neighborhood group (家族組合 *kazoku kumiai*), then the person in charge. Using these personal connections, apply every means of persuasion (教諭 *kyōyu*) to bring about a change of heart (改心 *kaishin*).²⁵

We noted in the previous chapter that most of the Urakami Christians scattered throughout the various domains were subjected to the persuasion tactics of Shinto evangelists. It was only in five domains that Buddhists requested and received permission to take charge of the prisoners. In the case of Kanazawa, we saw that Buddhists there focused on the issue of change of heart (改心 *kaishin*) as a form of conversion from Christianity to Buddhism. However, from the *Guidelines for Evangelists*, it is clear that the concept of change of heart was not limited to Shin Buddhists, and that it was not exclusively connected to the conversion of Christians. As it is used here, the term presupposes an understanding of morality that locates the source of good or evil actions in the contents of a person's heart. "Evil intentions" are listed as a problem together with "evil actions." "Persuasion" is the technique that provides a means to change a person's heart (*kaishin*) away from evil and towards the good. The *Guidelines* implies that the proof of such a transformation would be in reformed behavior.

²⁵ Ibid.

It appears that the overarching conception of the good derives from Confucian discourse more so than it does from either Buddhist or Shinto theories.²⁶ For example, application of “persuasion” (教諭 *kyōyū*) as a means of bettering the hearts of the populace extends beyond the goal of using rites (祭 *matsuri*) as a means to unify the realm. The necessity of teaching (教 *oshie*) conflicts with the notion that the populace would express a spontaneous affinity with the emperor. Additionally, the good are described with the rhetoric of Confucian virtues: “filial children, righteous young men, faithful wives.” In addition to persuasion, the evangelists are also instructed to rely on village and community networks to effectively minimize evil (悪 *aku*). The Ministry of Divinities expected the evangelists to improve the moral qualities of the population by integrating them more fully into the ideal of a harmonious, hierarchical community under the emperor, but the means of that integration presuppose the necessity of both moral instruction and community-based strategies of surveillance.

It is perhaps not surprising that a pragmatic faction within the Department of State viewed the Ministry of Divinities as a failed experiment.²⁷ Even Tokoyo Nagatane, (常世長胤 1832-1886), an evangelist with the campaign, recalled later that the evangelists had been at loggerheads with one another about what to teach. He recalled that one of his compatriots had a habit of teaching his own private opinions:

He taught about the return of the spirit (神魂帰着 *shinkon kichaku*), and he emphasized his personal theory (私説 *shisetsu*) that the good would ascend to the

²⁶ On Japanese Confucian moral discourse, see the entry for Confucian traditions in Heisig, Kasulis, and Maraldo (2011), 289-298.

²⁷ Yasumaru (2013), 122-3.

Plain of High Heaven (高天原 *Takama ga Hara*) and that the Evil would be cast into Yomi (夜見国 *Yomi no Kuni*, lit. dark-seeing-land).²⁸

The doctrine espoused here bears the mark of the influential Edo period Kokugaku thinker Hirata Atsutane (平田篤胤 1776-1843) and his *True Pillar of the Spirit* (霊の御柱 *Tama no Mihashira*, 1813).²⁹ Like Atsutane, this evangelist offers an eschatological vision of the afterlife grounded in concepts drawn from Shinto to the exclusion of Buddhist influence. However, the specific vertical cosmology implied by this evangelist's theory parts ways with Atsutane's understanding that the dead dwell alongside the living in an invisible world.³⁰ Tokoyo implies that the source of this eschatology was the man's own imagination. Whatever its origin, it is clear that such a cosmology entails a metaphysical rationale for behaving morally. The evangelists were responsible for the moral indoctrination of the populace, but they themselves had not been uniformly indoctrinated into a cohesive system. Thus, as Tokoyo reports, their teachings were idiosyncratic. These problems did not go unnoticed by the public, the political authorities, or the resentful Buddhist sects.

Shimaji Mokurai's Petition to Establish the Ministry of Doctrine

By August of 1870, the worst excesses of the anti-Buddhist movements had begun to settle, and the central government approved Honganji-ha's request to establish an office to liaise with the temples. That month, the Office of Temple Affairs (寺院寮 *ji'inryō*) opened within the Civil Ministry (民部省 *minbushō*). With the founding of this

²⁸ Tokoyo as reproduced in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 364.

²⁹ *Tama no Mihashira* is reprinted in Tawara, Seki, Saeki, and Haga (1973), 11-132.

³⁰ On Atsutane, see Hardacre (2016), 337-342.

division, local authorities could no longer force the closure of Buddhist temples at will.³¹

The social position of Buddhist sects was gradually becoming more stable.

However, Buddhist sects still objected to their exclusion from the Ministry of Divinities and the Great Promulgation Campaign. Thirty-two year old Honganji-ha priest Shimaji Mokurai believed that Buddhism had a rightful place in contributing to the public indoctrination effort. Shimaji thought that Buddhist sects should be actively involved in building the new society of Meiji, and he would go on to become perhaps the early Meiji period's most famous advocate for the separation of religion from state.³² However, in September of 1871 Shimaji was not yet equipped with the concepts necessary to articulate the demands for religious freedom that would later make his reputation. To the contrary, young Shimaji wrote a petition calling for the establishment of a Ministry of Doctrine (教部省 *kyōbusho*) that would allow for Buddhist sects to participate in the state's proselytization effort along with Shintoists.

For more than one thousand years this country has been a land of the Buddha and the Emperor. There is no place that Buddhist proselytization has failed to reach, and there are none who have not venerated the Buddhist teaching. Though this tradition is longstanding, I would not claim that there have not been difficulties at times.

However, throughout history Buddhism has sustained the hearts of the people (民心 *minshin*), and it has made no small contribution to the inculcation of virtue (風化 *fūka*) in the populace. The people have judged this proposal “to abolish and smash Buddhism” to be worthy of ridicule. There are some who want Buddhism to be eliminated without reason, and they do not realize that there is something extremely regrettable in this. They fail to grasp that there is no doctrine here capable of taking the place of Buddhism. They do not see that by abandoning the very doctrine that the people believe in, they will be pushing the people towards the dubious teaching (妖教 *yōkyō*, Christianity).

Now two or three years have passed since the establishment of the evangelists, and though I have not listened closely to their doctrine, personally it

³¹ Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 231.

³² For a biography of Shimaji Mokurai, see Yamaguchi (2013).

is my belief that they they cannot teach a sacred way (神聖ノ道 *shinsei no michi*) without reference to the two doctrines of Confucianism and Buddhism. This is truly the direction in which our national polity is headed (誠ニ国体ノ向かう所 *makoto ni kokutai no mukao tokoro*), and from the perspective of universal principle (理 *Ri*), the inclusion of these two doctrines is beyond reproach. If we would continue to use the current methods of indoctrination as a means to lead the uneducated masses (愚民 *gumin*), we must ask ourselves so far has this proven successful? [...]

If we are to persuade the people of the nature of morality (性情彝倫 *seigo irin*), then we must teach them about the vicissitudes of karmic causality (因果昇沈 *inga shōchin*). By what other means are we to explain [morality to the people]?³³

Shimaji Mokurai argues that the state could best achieve its goal of indoctrinating (風化 *fūka*) the populace by relying on the established Buddhist clerical institutions and their doctrines. He supports this claim with a historical argument: Buddhism has long been the dominant belief system among the Japanese people. For this reason, the anti-Buddhist campaigns may be expected to impede (rather than contribute to) the goal of political unity: without Buddhism, the people would flock to Christianity, thereby compromising their loyalty to the emperor and the state. Moreover, mirroring the language of the Restoration government's call to establish a Great Way (大道 *daidō*) for the Japanese people, Shimaji states his opinion that a sacred Way (神聖ノ道 *shinsei no michi*) must align with the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism. He implies that the doctrine of the Shinto evangelists could not amount to a sacred Way if it excludes Confucian and Buddhist teachings.

By invoking the government's favored term national polity (国体 *kokutai*)³⁴ together with the Confucian term universal principle (理 *Ri*), Shimaji implies that

³³ Shimaji in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 231-2.

³⁴ See the entry for *kokutai* in Miyaji (1986), 533.

Buddhism should be permitted to contribute to the Great Promulgation Campaign for two reasons. First, Buddhism is part of the national fabric and will continue to be so moving forward. Second, it makes sense to include Buddhism from both a logical and a moral perspective because Buddhist teachings are in harmony with a universal principle. Finally, he points to the failure of the campaign, implying that Buddhists may succeed where the Shinto evangelists have failed.

And how does Shimaji imagine that Buddhists may succeed? He proposes that morality can only be taught with reference to the doctrine of karma—a universal principle (理 *Ri*) that the authorities ignore at their own peril. The implication is that despite whatever sectarian differences there may be between Buddhist sects, the Buddhist teaching reflects a universal law and must be recognized by all.³⁵ Shimaji invokes the law of karma as a transcendent truth that the Buddhists will be prepared to teach in promoting the public ethic. Shimaji's petition can be understood as participating in a longstanding tradition of Japanese Buddhist political theory in that it aspires to the unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign (王法仏法 *ōbō buppō*).³⁶

Though he does not elaborate on the doctrine of karma in this text, Shimaji's petition introduces this theme that will become central to the later discourse of the Buddhist prison chaplaincy. Shimaji claims that Buddhism sustains the hearts of the people (民心 *minshin*) and contributes to the inculcation of virtue (風化 *fūka*). This assertion implies that the object of moral suasion campaigns are the hearts of the

³⁵ Fujii notes that Shimaji's argument in this petition implicitly relies on the doctrine of two levels of truth (真俗二諦 *shinzokunitai*): the Transcendent Truth (真諦 *shintai*) and the worldly truth (俗諦 *zokutai*). Historically, this framework has served in Shin and other Japanese Buddhist traditions as a way to articulate two levels of law. See Fujii in Inoue and Sakamoto (1987), 223-7. On the concept of *shinzoku nitai* in the Shin tradition, see Yamazaki (1996).

³⁶ On the unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign, see Kuroda (2001).

populace, and that the art of governance is in part a matter of molding the hearts of the governed. Shimaji believes that teaching the doctrine of karma is a uniquely effective strategy for influencing the populace because it is a transcendent moral truth. Thus, teaching of the doctrine of karma (that is, spreading the dharma) contributes to human flourishing and social harmony by opening the eyes of the populace to the nature of the moral reality that they share. To that extent, Buddhist institutions and the state share common aims. In this framing, Buddhism is eminently social and politically engaged, and the state is seen as having the responsibility to recognize that it is in the national interest to promote the dharma.

The Great Promulgation Campaign and the National Instructors

Though it is difficult to ascertain what direct influence Shimaji's petition may have had on government policy, by 1872 the political authorities were well aware of the shortcomings of the Shinto evangelists. As the anti-Buddhist movements dissipated, the state moved to harness a greater variety of sects for the Great Promulgation Campaign. The new policy was to organize Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto under the umbrella of the Great Way. The restructured Great Promulgation Campaign would ultimately begin to fall apart when Shimaji Mokurai led the powerful Shin Buddhist sects to withdraw their support in 1875, but it continued to function in some capacity until 1884. Despite the brevity of the Campaign's heyday (1872-1875), its legacy casts a long shadow over Japanese religious history. The concepts of religion and religious freedom were negotiated as reactions to the perceived failures and excesses of this program.³⁷ The

³⁷ See Shimaji Mokurai's famous petition criticizing the three teachings (三条教則批判建白書 *sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenpakusho* 1872) and his declaration of independence from the Ministry of Doctrine (大教

first prison chaplains emerged in the context of this campaign and the negotiations that followed in its wake.

In August of 1871, the Ministry of Divinities was reorganized into the Office of Divinities (神祇省 *jingishō*) and placed under the authority of the Department of State.³⁸ Then, in March of 1872, the Office of Divinities too was abolished, and its functions were folded into the newly established Ministry of Doctrine (教部省 *kyōbushō*). It seemed as if Shimaji's request had been granted.

Under the Ministry of Doctrine, the Great Promulgation Campaign was fundamentally restructured. Three key developments characterized the second incarnation of the campaign. The revised campaign consisted of a central institution, the Great Teaching Institute (大教院 *daikyōin*, established on March 14th, 1872), a doctrine (三条教則 *sanjō kyōsoku*), and a hierarchically organized corps of national instructors (教導職 *kyōdoshoku*) instituted to replace the earlier Shinto evangelists.³⁹ All religious institutions were placed into a hierarchy under the Great Teaching Institute such that head temples (本山 *honzan*) of Buddhist sects were now designated as middle teaching institutes (中教員 *chūkyōin*). In theory, local temples and shrines became small teaching institutes (小教院 *shōkyōin*) by fiat. According to one estimate, there were approximately 87,558

院分離建白書 *daikyōin bunri kenpakusho* 1873). Both played an important part in the development of the concept of religious freedom in Japan. They are reproduced in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 234-248.

³⁸ For a discussion on the transformation of the Ministry of Divinities into the Office of Divinities, see Sakamoto in Inoue and Sakamoto (1987), 19-31. Sakamoto maintains that this transformation was not a “demotion” so much as a recognition of the fact that the Ministry of Divinities was not the paramount organ of state. The staff of the Office of Divinities actually exceeded that of the Ministry of Divinities.

³⁹ This description follows Hardacre (1986).

Buddhist temples in Japan in 1873.⁴⁰ Ideally, every single one of these would have been incorporated into the new system, though it appears that this goal was never fully realized.⁴¹

Though the plans for the Great Promulgation Campaign were extremely ambitious, its doctrinal foundations remained undeveloped. The doctrine of the Great Way (大道 *daidō*) was elaborated into three teachings (三条教則 *Sanjō Kyōsoku*) promulgated on April 28th of 1872. Hardacre translates these principles as follows:

- (1) respect for the gods, love of country;
- (2) making clear the principles of Heaven and the Way of Man;
- (3) reverence for the emperor and obedience to the will of the court.⁴²

These teachings were to be disseminated by the newly formed corps of national instructors to audiences throughout Japan. In the following section, we will see that some of these audiences were drawn from the incarcerated population. First we will look to the campaign's curriculum and to the Buddhist response to that curriculum in order to understand the doctrinal and political context in which the first prison chaplains emerged.

The Curriculum of the Great Promulgation Campaign

The national instructor system was based on examinations and rankings designed to organize the religious world into one unified body. Thus, all religious (i.e Buddhist priests and Shintō priests) were required to pass examinations (often administered by sectarian offices under the auspices of the Great Teaching Institute). Those who passed

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Akamatsu and Kasahara (1963), 447.

⁴² As translated in Hardacre (1986), p.45. The original text is reproduced in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 446.

exams would become qualified as national instructors and ranked according to their progress and performance.⁴³ Only after passing these exams could Buddhist and Shinto priests continue their activities with state approval. In theory, the development of a systematic method for testing and ranking national instructors represented a greater degree of organizational development than seen under the earlier system of Shinto evangelists. The systematic nature of the new program and the inclusion of the Buddhist sects were doubtless intended to improve upon many of the shortcomings of the earlier model.

At the heart of this system was the Great Teaching Institute. The Institute functioned as a seminary, conducting research and also training the national instructors.⁴⁴ Its basic curriculum was grounded in the the three teachings—the foundations of the public ethos for the new era. Under the Institute, the three teachings were further elaborated into two curricula: the eleven topics (十一兼題 *jūichi kendai*) and the seventeen topics (十七兼題 *jūnana kendai*), or, when taken together, the twenty-eight topics (二十八兼題 *nijūhachi kendai*).⁴⁵ The curricula present an outline of the creed that the national instructors were responsible for disseminating and shed light on the contours of the ideology the state sought to promote. The eleven topics reveal the influence of Shintō and Confucian concepts. However, despite Shimaji Mokurai's best efforts, Buddhist influence is noticeably lacking.

⁴³ See Ogawara (2004), 45-58 on the Great Teaching Institute examinations. Exceptions were made for certain high ranking priests, for example, who were automatically granted high ranks within the new system without having to take examinations.

⁴⁴ See Ogawara (2004) for the most comprehensive discussion of the Great Teaching Institute.

⁴⁵ Miyake (2015), 38.

Table 3.1 The Eleven Topics of the Great Teaching Institute Curriculum

No.	The Eleven Topics
1	Divine virtue and the blessings of Heaven (神徳天恩 <i>jintoku ten'on</i>)
2	The immortality of the spirit (人魂不死 <i>jinkon fushi</i>)
3	The story of the creation of the heavenly kami (天神造化 <i>tenjin sōka</i>)
4	The visible and the invisible world (顯幽分界 <i>genyū bunkai</i>)
5	Patriotism (愛国 <i>aikoku</i>)
6	Kami rites (神祭 <i>shinsai</i>)
7	Spirit pacification rites (鎮魂 <i>chinkon</i>)
8	Proper relations between lord and ministers (君臣 <i>kunshin</i>)
9	Proper relations between fathers and children (父子 <i>fushi</i>)
10	Proper relations between husbands and wives (夫婦 <i>fufu</i>)
11	Purification rites (大祓 <i>ōharai</i>).

Source: Miyake (2015), 38.

Of the topics listed, one through seven and eleven clearly indicate the centrality of Shinto concepts to the Great Promulgation Campaign. Topics six, seven, and eleven are specific to Shinto rituals—the rites through which the realm is to be unified. A Shinto cosmology is covered under topics two, three, and four. One and six refer primarily to the vision of ethical conduct promoted by the campaign: divine virtues and patriotism.

Topics eight, nine, and ten reflect three of the five relations outlined in traditional Confucian discourse.⁴⁶ That the Campaign included Confucian ethical theory indicates

⁴⁶ For an example of Japanese Confucian thought regarding the five relationships, see the entry for Hayashi Razan (林羅山 1583-1657) in Heisig, Kasulis, and Maraldo (2011), 308. In the curriculum cited here, the two missing relations are those between older and younger brothers and those between friends.

that the ideologues in charge embraced the Confucian conception of a patriarchal family structure and its concomitant hierarchical model for relations between ruler and ruled.

The list of seventeen topics is generally more worldly.

Table 3.2 The Seventeen Topics of the Great Teaching Institute Curriculum

No.	The Seventeen Topics
1	The doctrine of the national polity (皇国国体説 <i>kōkoku kokutai setsu</i>)
2	The doctrine that the way does not change (道不可変説 <i>michi fukahensetsu</i>)
3	The notion that the political system must accord with the times (制可隨時説 <i>seika zuiji setsu</i>)
4	The restoration of imperial rule (皇政一新説 <i>kōsei isshin setsu</i>)
5	The doctrine that human beings differ from birds and beasts (人異禽獸説 <i>jin'i kinjū</i>)
6	The necessity of study (不可不学説 <i>fuka fugaku setsu</i>)
7	The necessity of teaching (不可不教説 <i>fuka fukyō setsu</i>)
8	An explanation that it is proper for Japan to conduct international relations (万国交際説 <i>bankoku kōsai setsu</i>)
9	An explication of the roles of national law and civil law (国法民法説 <i>kokuhō minpō setsu</i>)
10	The history of law (律法沿革説 <i>rippō enkaku setsu</i>)
11	An appeal for the importance of taxation and corvee labor (租税賦役説 <i>zozei fueki setsu</i>)
12	An explanation of the political goal of becoming a wealthy country with a strong army (富国強兵説 <i>fukoku kyōhei setsu</i>)
13	The necessity for regulations on manufacturing (産物制物説 <i>sanbutsu seibutsu setsu</i>)
14	The goal of civilization and enlightenment (文明開化説 <i>bunmei kaika setsu</i>)
15	The variety of political systems characteristic of modern nations (政体各種説 <i>seitai kakushu setsu</i>)
16	The importance of both spiritual duties and physical duties to the state (役心役形説 <i>yakushin yakugata setsu</i>)
17	The rites and responsibilities of subjects (権利義務説 <i>kenri gimū setsu</i>)

Source: Miyake (2015), 38.

The topics covered in this second curriculum center around attempts to justify the new regime and to legitimate its domestic and foreign policies (3, 4, 8-15). The list also contains more specific articulations of the responsibilities of imperial subjects (5, 6, 7, 16, and 17), and other topics refer to a historical narrative rooted in the myth of a timeless national essence (1 and 2). It is notable that duties to the state are defined as being spiritual (役心 *yakushin* lit. “heart-duties”) as well as material. The assertion that there are responsibilities that the heart owes to the state resonates with the central theme of Shimaji’s petition to open the Ministry of Doctrine. His petition was founded on the assumption that governance is in part a matter of influencing the hearts of the people (民心 *minshin*) through moral suasion so as to inculcate virtue (風化 *fūka*), i.e. to promote a collective ethos. The ideologues in charge of the Great Teaching Institute appear to have agreed in principle, but they did not see fit to incorporate the doctrine of karma into their central curriculum, nor did they see it as an essential part of a public ethic.

The Ministry of Doctrine was established in part as a response to pressure from Buddhist temple authorities. However, from the curricula, it is readily apparent that the doctrines espoused by the Great Teaching Institute were of a Shinto and nationalist character to the exclusion of Buddhist themes. The doctrine of karma—the universal principle that Shimaji Mokurai had lobbied to have included—was nowhere to be found in the Twenty-eight topics. Despite this, in the winter of 1872, the Great Teaching Institute published *The Essence of Preaching for the Various Sects* (諸宗説教要義 *Shoshū Sekkyō Yōgi*), summarizing how each Buddhist sect was expected to bring its preaching in line with the three teachings.⁴⁷ Shimaji’s plan appears to have backfired.

⁴⁷ This text is reproduced in Miyake (2007) beginning on page 51.

Buddhist Criticism of the Great Promulgation Campaign

In response to the Great Promulgation Campaign, Meiji Buddhist leaders sought to articulate how the relationship between the dharma and the law of the modern state should be defined. Within the Pure Land traditions, the basic terms of the debate were framed in relation to the discourse of two levels of truth (真俗二諦 *shinzoku nitai*) and its concomitant framework for separating worldly commitments from transcendent commitments. Important historical studies of the involvement of Shin Buddhists in the Great Promulgation Campaign have emphasized the role of Shimaji Mokurai and how his advocacy for religious freedom contributed to the downfall of that campaign.⁴⁸ However, even as late as 1872, it appears that some Shin Buddhists expected the Great Promulgation Campaign to continue. Below I introduce texts produced by Shin Buddhists who added Buddhist topics to the curriculum of Great Promulgation Campaign. Ultimately, both Shimaji's advocacy for religious freedom and the work of Buddhists who attempted to seek an accommodation with the Great Promulgation Campaign influenced the development of the prison chaplaincy, and so a summary of their basic contributions is provided.

Many Buddhist priests charged with promulgating the three teachings throughout the nation resented the exclusion of their own sectarian doctrines. Shimaji Mokurai, who departed for a research trip throughout Europe, the Middle East, and India in January of 1872, became the leader of this abolitionist faction.⁴⁹ While in Europe, Shimaji carefully observed the status of church-state relations and developed his own understanding of the

⁴⁸ See Kramer (2015) and Yamaguchi (2013).

⁴⁹ For information on Shimaji's travels, see the biography by Yamaguchi (2013).

necessity of separation of religion from state. During his travels, he prepared two petitions that would solidify his reputation as a hero of religious freedom: *Petition Criticizing the Three Teachings* (三条教則批判建白書 *Sanjō Kyōsoku Hihan Kenpakusho*, 1872), and *Petition to Separate from the Great Teaching Institute* (大教院分離建白書 *Daikyō-in Bunri Kenpakusho*, 1873).⁵⁰ In these petitions, Shimaji argues forcefully that only the separation of religion from state management would enable Buddhist sects, through the free teaching of their own doctrines, to contribute to the moral improvement of the people and to prevent the Christianization of the Japanese populace.⁵¹ His position may be characterized as an attempt to reach a rapprochement with the authorities in a manner favorable to the Buddhist sects. Although Shimaji maintained that the law of the worldly authorities and the dharma should be separated, he articulated his demands with reference to national interests and the fear of Christianity. The emphasis on the contribution to the state and the enmity with Christianity will continue to be longstanding themes among the Shin Buddhists involved in prison chaplaincy, as we will see in chapter four.

The Shin sects were not alone in their opposition to the Great Promulgation Campaign. The influential Jōdo-shū (浄土宗) priest Fukuda Gyōkai (福田行誠 1809-1888) represents a more antagonistic attitude towards the state's attempt to control the teachings of the Buddhist priests.⁵² Fukuda maintains that the dharma should not be subjugated to the mundane doctrines of the worldly authorities at all. Like Shimaji,

⁵⁰ Both of these are reproduced in Shimaji in Yasumaru and Miyaji (1988), 234-248.

⁵¹ Shimaji is discussed extensively in Kramer (2015) and Yamaguchi (2013).

⁵² For biographical information on Fukuda, see Inoue (2007), 168-9.

Fukuda draws on the theory of two levels of truth, but his conclusions reveal a fundamental suspicion of the political authorities. He asserts that the relationship between the dharma and the law of the sovereign is inherently one of conflict.

The Dharma is the ultimate truth (真諦 *shintai*). It is the law for liberation (出離解脱 *shutsuri gedatsu*) from samsara. The worldly law (世法 *yohō*) is a mundane truth (俗諦 *zokutai*), and it is rooted in what we call the self (有我 *yūga*). For this reason, it is important from the outset to be clear on the distinction: the worldly law is a thing of delusion (迷中 *meichū*), and the dharma is the path to liberation. [...]

Some years ago, when the three teachings were promulgated, we were instructed to preach about them, but I said that I would not lift a finger to help those Shinto priests. [...] Why should they tell us Buddhists—we who practice the law of no-self and pray for liberation from samsara—that we must preach this egotistical doctrine of “reverence for the kami and patriotism?” We have to realize that from the beginning, the Dharma and the worldly law have had a bad relationship. The Dharma is not of this world.⁵³

While Shimaji appealed to mutual interests between the state and Buddhist institutions, Fukuda represents a more antagonistic strand of Buddhist thinking. He maintains that the ultimate truth and its law are not to be regarded as tools for political strategy. This line of thinking reveals another dimension of modern Japanese Buddhism: the idea that the law of the state can fall out of harmony with the universal moral law. This vantage point allows Buddhists to criticize state policies from the perspective of religious ethics. The recognition of potential conflicts between the law of the state and the ultimate law represents an important component of modern Japanese Buddhist thought. For now, we may note that the doctrine of two levels of truth and two levels of law internalizes a contradiction. There is a tension between the ideal unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign and the reality of the difference between the two.

⁵³ Fukuda in Yoshida (1972), 143.

It is clear that even within the abolitionist camp there was a diversity of opinion about the ideal relationship between Buddhism and the state. However, though Shimaji appears conciliatory and Fukuda antagonistic towards state authorities, they were in agreement that the Buddhist sects should be free to promulgate their own doctrines, and that the Great Teaching Institute was an impediment to the Buddhist mission.

Ultimately, the Shin sects abandoned the Great Promulgation Campaign in February of 1875. Their departure precipitated the closure of the Great Teaching Institute by May of the same year. These developments contributed to the trajectory for the subsequent legal separation of religion from state and the recognition of a degree of religious freedom under the Meiji Constitution of 1889. However, the fundamental issue of how to define the relationship between Buddhism and the state authorities was not resolved with the end of the Great Promulgation Campaign.

The General Buddhism Curriculum and Public Ethics

Shimaji and his supporters emerged from their conflict with the Great Teaching Institute as victors. However, at the same time that Shimaji was lobbying for freedom from the Great Promulgation Campaign, there was another camp within the Shin sect attempting to tailor their doctrines to meet the needs of the national instructors.⁵⁴ Before the collapse of the Great Promulgation Campaign became an inevitability, a faction within the Buddhist community petitioned the government for permission to combine the three teachings with their own sectarian doctrines.⁵⁵ Before it was shuttered, the Great

⁵⁴ Tokushige (1974) and Miyake (2015) have each produced work addressing eager Buddhist involvement in the Great Promulgation Campaign. I introduce representative works below.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of Buddhist responses to the three teachings, see Miyake (2015), 38.

Teaching Institute granted permission to Buddhist sects to establish qualifying exams in their own fields.⁵⁶ A standard examination covering a general overview of Japanese Buddhism was established, and other examinations were provided on a sect specific basis (e.g., an exam in Shin doctrine). Under this arrangement, a general Buddhist curriculum (仏法通論 *Buppō Tsūron*) was developed for the purposes of the Buddhist national instructors. This curriculum emphasized those aspects of Buddhist teaching that its architects regarded as trans-sectarian. The move to derive a minimal common doctrine that all Buddhist national instructors might share represents an attempt to construct a Buddhist mode of public ethics to compete with or supplement the three teachings of the Great Promulgation Campaign. The doctrine of karma played an essential role in this attempt to craft a unified system of Buddhist ethics.

Buddhist sects produced study guides to prepare their clergy for both the general Buddhism examinations and their own sectarian examinations.⁵⁷ One text designed to aid in preparation for the general Buddhism exam is a work entitled *An Explication of the Sixteen Subjects of the General Buddhism [Curriculum]* (佛法通論十六題講解, *Buppō Tsūron Jūroku-dai Kōkai*) written by Akamatsu Kaion (赤松皆恩, 1828-1896).⁵⁸

Akamatsu was a Shinshū Honganji-ha priest who would later serve as prison chaplain in Ibaraki, Ehime, and Osaka through the 1880s.⁵⁹ His *Sixteen Subjects* was issued by the

⁵⁶ Miyaji and Ariyoshi's *Shintō Daijiten* (1986) entry for "Daikyō-in" discusses this topic. p. 890.

⁵⁷ Tokushige (1974), 233-242 discusses such texts. Tokushige even cites Akamatsu, the author I discuss here. See 238-9.

⁵⁸ The first example I discuss below is Akamatsu (1875).

⁵⁹ See the entry for Akamatsu Kaion in the Ryūkoku University *Bukkyō Daijirui*. See Ryūkoku Daigaku (1972 vol. 1).

Shinshū Office (眞宗局 *shinshū kyoku*), an administrative unit within Honganji-ha responsible for the sect's participation in the Campaign.

This text was published in May of 1875—the same month that the Great Teaching Institute was abolished. In February of the same year, the Shin sects had already withdrawn from the Great Promulgation Campaign. However, Akamatsu's preface indicates that the text was written by December of 1874. Why the text proceeded to publication after Honganji-ha had withdrawn from the Great Teaching Institute remains a mystery, but it is likely that uncertainty about the future of state policy towards Buddhism contributed to the publication of a manual that was out of date the day it was printed.

Akamatsu's work is representative of a type of manual produced by various sects to promote their own national instructors. Another example of this genre can be found in that of the Ōtani-ha priest and Gakuryō seminary instructor Nanjō Shinkō (南條神興, 1814-1887): *A Shinshū Analysis of the Sixteen Themes* (眞宗十六題講辯 *Shinshū Jūroku-dai Kōben*, 1875).⁶⁰ Shinkō was the adoptive father of the Nanjō Bunyū (南條文雄, 1849-1927), who would go on to be the first Japanese Buddhist to study Sanskrit in the West. In the next chapter we will see that Shinkō's son Bunyū became involved in building the Shin prison chaplaincy together with Akamatsu.

The works by Akamatsu and Nanjō both cover the same themes in the same order. Although the titles of both subjects refer to sixteen themes, each text only contains eight. The reason for the apparent discrepancy is that the eight themes must be discussed from a general Buddhist perspective and then from a Shin sectarian perspective, thus resulting in

⁶⁰ Nanjō (1875).

sixteen themes. Both of these study guides cover only the general perspective and allude to other materials that must be used to prepare for the Shin materials. The eight subjects covered by these texts reflect the inclusion of Buddhist doctrines that are absent in other areas of the Great Promulgation Campaign.

Table 3.3: The Eight Subjects of the General Buddhism Curriculum

No.	Subject (Chapter Title) ⁶¹
1	All phenomena are dependent and co-arising (諸法緣起 <i>shohō engi</i>)
2	The law of cause and effect (因果応報 <i>inga ōhō</i>)
3	The Four Noble Truths and karmic destiny (四諦因縁 <i>shitei innen</i>)
4	Action based on delusory understanding brings good or evil effects (惑業善悪 <i>wakugō zen 'aku</i>) ⁶²
5	Formation, duration, destruction, and emptiness ⁶³ (成住壞空 <i>jōjūekū</i>)
6	All things possess Buddha-nature (悉有仏性 <i>shitsu 'u busshō</i>)
7	Discourse on morality based on the precepts at a level comprehensible to the audience (開遮隨宜 <i>kaisha zuigi</i>) ⁶⁴
8	Each sect's doctrinal judgments (sectarian doctrine) (各宗教判 <i>kakushū kyōhan</i>)

Source: Akamatsu Kaion (1875) and Nanjō Shinkō (1875)

Each topic is given its own chapter with a lengthy explication of its place in a general schema of Buddhist doctrine. The unifying theme of Akamatsu' text is the ideal of unity between Buddhist law and the rule of the sovereign.

⁶¹ I consulted these dictionaries to translate these subject titles: NBKJ (1985), OBKJ (1981).

⁶² *Wakugō* is synonymous with *bonnō* (煩惱) “blind passions.”

⁶³ These represent the four aspects of a Maha-Kalpa, the largest time-unit in Buddhism.

⁶⁴ In this context, *kai* 開 is “permit” and *sha* 遮 is “prohibit.” Thus, “that which is permitted and that which is prohibited.” *Zuigi* 隨宜 is a compound related to the concept of *hōben* 方便 or “skillfull means.” *Zuigi* means “to speak to people in terms they can understand.”

The first chapter on dependent co-arising exemplifies the tenor of the work. The exposition begins by asserting that the dharma (仏法 *buppō*) must support governance (政 *matsurigoto*). Akamatsu argues that active involvement of Buddhists in support of the regime is “a necessary practice for the suppression of heresy” (防邪ノ要行 *bōja no yōgyō*).⁶⁵ The reference to heresy covers a multitude of evils: everything from the threat of Christian encroachment to general anti-social behavior. Akamatsu continues, “it is necessary [for Buddhists] to bear the responsibility of disciplin[ing the populace]” (勤懲ノ必携 *kinchō no hikkei*) by providing moral instruction based on Buddhist doctrine.⁶⁶ The thesis of this chapter is that if people properly understand the doctrine of dependent co-arising, then governance will benefit. Unfortunately, Akamatsu fails to articulate specifically *how* teaching the doctrine of independent co-arising can be expected to aid in the strategies of governance. Despite this apparent oversight, Akamatsu maintains that Buddhist national instructors should be prepared to explain dependent co-arising to their audiences in such a way as to emphasize its connection to a public ethic.

The second chapter, “the law of cause and effect,” continues in the same vein, but here a specific connection is drawn between the dharma and the law of the sovereign. Akamatsu asserts that the mark of the True Dharma (正法 *shōbō*) is that it aids in the strategies of governance (輔政ノ方略 *hōsei no hōryaku*).⁶⁷ He writes:

Anything that turns against this principle (理 *ri*) is a heretical doctrine (邪教 *jakyō*). Although Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism have different points of

⁶⁵ Akamatsu (1872 vol.1), 2.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 5.

entry (門戸 *monko*), [...] the result of their teachings is only to make clear this principle: to encourage good and to chastise evil.⁶⁸

The Buddhist law of cause and effect is then explained with reference to legal transgressions and punishment: “Shame and criminal penalties are the harms born of evil karma (耻恥卜刑罰ハ悪業ノ害ナリ *chijoku to keibatsu wa akugō no gai nari*).”⁶⁹ Legal punishments are thus seen to be a manifestation of the effects the law of karma. This brief excerpt suggests that Shin Buddhist instructors with the Great Promulgation Campaign were equipped to explain the existential significance of criminal penalties in line with Buddhist doctrine.

There are three characteristics of Akamatsu’s text that connect it to the development of the prison chaplaincy. First, Akamatsu appeals to the unity of the dharma and the worldly law as an ideal. He presents the promulgation of Buddhist doctrine as a mode of governance and a political strategy: the role of the Buddhist teaching is “to assist in rule (政 *matsurigoto*).” This expression resonates with the stated goal of the Meiji regime, the unity of rites and governance (祭政一致 *saisei itchi*). Akamatsu contends that Buddhism has a rightful place within the unity. Like Shimaji’s early work, the *Petition to Establish the Ministry of Doctrine*, Akamatsu’s *Sixteen Topics* invokes a foundational ideal of Japanese Buddhist political philosophy: that the Dharma and the law of the sovereign should function in tandem (王法仏法 *ōbō buppō*), as “two wheels on a cart.”⁷⁰

Second, Akamatsu maintains that Buddhism deserves to be part of the public ethos as much as Shinto and Confucianism. He minimizes sectarian particularity to

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* 8.

⁷⁰ See Kuroda (2001), 22-35.

present Buddhism as one united teaching. This framing produces the impression that despite sectarian difference, there is a common core shared by all Buddhist sects. This shared Buddhism is presented as integral to national identity. At the same time, national identity is implicitly characterized as a matter of an ethos that entails moral obligations shared by all Japanese people. To provide a contrast, he invokes heretical doctrines (邪教 *jakyō*) in reference to Christianity—only made tacitly legal with the dismantling of public notices of prohibition two years earlier in 1873.⁷¹ Akamatsu uses the metaphor of three points of entry to imply that despite external appearances, Buddhism, Shintō, and Confucianism lead to the same place. These teachings are all facets of the Great Way for the Japanese people. The idea is that the public ethic of the Japanese is structured by the values of these three traditions, and that Japanese identity is rooted in them.

Third, Akamatsu provides a functionalist interpretation of the role of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto in society: “the result of their teachings is [...] to encourage good and to chastise evil.” As Shimaji suggested in his *Petition to Establish a Ministry of Doctrine*, Akamatsu demonstrates the Buddhist mode of moral suasion by invoking the doctrine of karma. He proposes that criminal penalties and the stigma associated with them are harms born of evil karma. In this framing, the transcendent law of cause and effect is intertwined with the worldly law and its power to dispense punishment. This moral vision produces an overlapping of religious and legal cosmologies and anthropologies. Thus, Akamatsu’s interpretation of the doctrine of karma assigns a religious meaning to criminal penalties. This interpretive act is not only a means of legitimation; it suggests a strategy for the formation of conscience that will become

⁷¹ For a detailed timeline, see Kasahara (1974), 230-1.

important to prison proselytization. Akamatsu's interpretation of karma is tailored to suit the needs of national instructors tasked with promoting a public ethos. His overview of core Buddhist doctrines gives the impression that the purpose of his doctrinal framework is not so much to liberate as to govern. In essence, Akamatsu's manual suggests a cooperative relationship between Buddhism and state that is completely at odds with the antagonistic relationship envisioned by Fukuda Gyōkai.

The prison chaplaincy began with Shin Buddhist national instructors working under the Great Promulgation Campaign. Here we have seen the doctrinal foundations for the prison chaplaincy as they were developed in the political context of that campaign. Within the Pure Land traditions there was a tension between the ideal of the unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign (represented by Akamatsu) and the idea that the ultimate law and the worldly law should be complementary but distinct (represented by Shimaji and Fukuda). We have also seen that Shin Buddhists pressed for a role in disseminating the public ethos leading up to the opening of the Ministry of Doctrine. After Shinshū dropped out of the Great Promulgation Campaign in 1875, Shin efforts at public proselytization—including prison proselytization—expanded. Former national instructors carried forward some aspects of the Buddhist Great Promulgation Campaign discourse and became prison chaplains as the Great Promulgation Campaign was terminated.

Benevolent Punishments

During the same period as the Great Promulgation Campaign, bureaucrats were developing new strategies of policing the populace and managing crime. Daniel Botsman

has provided a detailed account of the development of prison institutions in Meiji Japan, so I will not reiterate this narrative here.⁷² In order to understand the relationship between the penal code and the origins of prison chaplaincy during the first decade of Meiji, there are two particular developments that must not be ignored. One of these is the general trend towards punishment by deprivation of liberty. The other is the transformation of the aims of punishment, a shift away from the infliction of physical pain toward the moral education of the prisoner. In what follows, I explain how these developments made it both possible and logical for national instructors to become involved in the prison system at its inception.

The Meiji government dispatched officials to Hong Kong and Singapore to study the British colonial prison system in 1871. The leader of this research expedition became the father of the Japanese prison system: Ohara Shigechika (小原重哉, 1836-1902).⁷³ In 1872, Ohara published *Prison Rules with Charts* (監獄則並図式 *Kangoku Soku narabi ni Zushiki*), a text that would become a roadmap for the development of the Japanese prison system. The text begins with the question, “what is a prison?” Botsman translates the opening passage of this work as follows:

It is a means to hold criminals in custody in order to discipline them.
The purpose of a prison is to show people love and benevolence, not to do them violence. Its purpose is to discipline people, not to cause them pain.
Punishments are applied because there is no other choice. Their purpose is to expel evil in the interests of the nation.⁷⁴

⁷² Botsman (2005).

⁷³ See *ibid.*, 146-162.

⁷⁴ Ohara translated and qtd. in Botsman (2005), 154. The original text is available in a reprint published by the Japanese Correctional Association. Ohara (1976), 1.

The claim that the “purpose of a prison is to show people love and benevolence” is cited in the postwar version of the official history of the prison chaplaincy *One Hundred Years of Prison Chaplaincy* (教誨百年 *Kyōkai Hyakunen*, 1973) as the impetus for the beginning of prison ministry.⁷⁵ Ohara’s text represents a fundamental change in the theory of criminal penalties. To Ohara, the purpose of the prison is to instill discipline (懲戒 *chōkai*). The guiding principle is that human beings are malleable and can be formed so as to better serve the interests of the state. It is no exaggeration to claim that Ohara’s text is foundational to the official identity narrative of the prison chaplaincy: it provides a rationale for a role of religionists in molding the hearts of the incarcerated.

In line with Ohara’s proposals, the *Penal Labor Law* (懲役法 *Chōeki Hō*), was enacted in April of the 1872. This law represents a significant shift away from physical punishments toward punishment by deprivation of liberty.⁷⁶ In accordance with the move away from corporal penalties towards penal labor, the Department of State (太政官 *Dajōkan*) disseminated Order No. 103 (布告第百十三号 *fukoku dai hyaku jūsan-gō*): a chart for converting the flogging and caning punishments favored by the Shogunate into punishments by incarceration.⁷⁷ This chart allows for a simple conversion of the recommended number of lashes/blows into the same number of days of confinement. It is indicative of the trajectory being set for the Japanese justice system in the early 1870s.

⁷⁵ *KKHN* vol. 1 (1973) p. 32.

⁷⁶ See the entry for *chōeki* in the *KSDJ*.

⁷⁷ For a discussion of the relation between this order and prison chaplaincy, see Katō in Akaike and Ishizuka (2011), 58.

Table 3.4 Penal Labor Conversion Chart (May 1872).

Flogging (笞 <i>muchi</i>): 10 blows	Penal Labor (懲役 <i>chōeki</i>): 10 days
20 blows	20 days
30 blows	30 days
40 blows	40 days
50 blows	50 days
Caning (杖 <i>tsue</i>): 60 blows	60 days
70 blows	70 days
80 blows	80 days
90 blows	90 days
100 blows	100 days

Source: This is a translation of the conversion chart issued with Order No. 103.

Reproduced in Ishii and Mizubayashi, ed. (2000), 143-144.

As regional authorities started to establish prisons and people started to be locked up, a “captive audience” was created.⁷⁸ By 1874, Osaka and six other domains had produced new institutions for imprisonment with hard labor (懲役所 *chōekijō*), and by the end of the year Ohara’s plan to produce the first Western style prison had been approved.⁷⁹ The production of new facilities for incarceration proceeded apace over the following years. After additional revisions were made to the *Revised Code* (改定律例 *Kaitei Ritsurei*, 1873) in 1874, confinement to prison (禁獄 *kingoku*) became a standard punishment.⁸⁰ The prison population in the Japanese Home Islands increased steadily from 1877, the first year reliable records were produced (see table 3.5).

While the relationship between religious authorities and the state was in flux, the ideology of criminal law and punitive practices were also in transition. In the official prewar history of the chaplaincy *A History of Japanese Prison Chaplaincy* (日本監獄教

⁷⁸ In 1876 the government issued an order that each prison facility be named as a penal office (懲役署 *Chōekisho*) or a prison office (囚獄署 *shūgokusho*). Later “prison” (監獄 *kangoku*) became the most widely used term.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 160.

⁸⁰ Botsman (2005), 160.

誨史 *Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai-shi*, 1927), the trajectory of the criminal justice system in the Meiji period is characterized as a shift from objective punishments (客觀主義 *kyakkan shugi*) to subjective punishments (主觀主義 *shukan shugi*).⁸¹ In other words, the object of punishment changed from the physical body to the human subject understood in a non-physical way. In *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, Michel Foucault argues that the modern carceral system takes as its object not physical body of the offender but rather his soul.⁸² In an analogous transformation, the modernization of the Japanese penal system saw the authorities becoming increasingly concerned with the hearts (*kokoro*) of the incarcerated.

Table 3.5: Prison Population in the Japanese Home Islands

Year	Prison Population	Year	Prison Population
1877	25,856	1889	64,008
1878	30,539	1890	69,446
1879	34,626	1891	73,574
1880	36,161	1892	76,057
1881	36,375	1893	79,175
1882	43,304	1894	81,001
1883	56,698	1895	77,551
1884	72,019	1905	56,737
1885	78,687	1906	53,003
1886	72,070	1925	43,135
1887	64,050	1930	46,437
1888	61,057	1990	46,458

Source: Adapted from Yasumaru (1999), 131. Yasumaru's chart is based on the government's official Statistical Almanacs (*Tōkei Nenkan*).

The First Prison Chaplains

As the prison population continued to increase, national instructors with the Great Promulgation Campaign started to petition regional authorities for permission to preach

⁸¹ NKKS (1927), 12.

⁸² Foucault (1995), 16.

to the incarcerated. According to the Jōdo Shinshū histories, the first Shin priests to proselytize to the incarcerated were Ōtani-ha clerics Ugai Keitan (鵜飼啓潭 1832-1885) of Jōsaiji temple (乗西寺) in Nagoya and Minowa Taigaku (蓑輪対岳 1838-1879) of Gōmyōji temple (仰明寺) in Fukui.⁸³ Minowa was temporarily stationed at Asakusa Honganji temple (浅草本願寺) in Tokyo when he filed his petition. It bears noting that these clerics were national instructors. They were not yet identified as prison chaplains (*kyōkaishi*). However, their practice does correspond to the contours of doctrinal admonition (*kyōkai*) as identified in the *Larger Sutra* (discussed in chapter 1).

In June of 1872, the Ministry of Doctrine (教部省 *Kyōbushō*) issued Order No. Three (達第三号 *tasshi dai sangō*), declaring that both temple and shrine authorities would now be responsible for proselytizing to the population based on the Three Teachings.⁸⁴ The following month, Ugai Keitan applied for permission to preach to prisoners in Nagoya. Tokugawa Keishō (徳川慶勝 1824-1883), the governor of Aichi Prefecture (a newly established administrative region), granted his request.⁸⁵

右隆盛ノ聖化ヲ感戴シ国恩ノ万一ニ報センか為メ例月二回教育徒刑ノ二場及獄中等江罷越三条ノ大旨ヲ主トシ交ユルニ仏教因果応報ノ説ヲ以テ囚徒ニ説諭シ過去ヲ懺悔シテ改心自新ノ地ニ導キ度段申立之趣寄特ノ儀ニ付聞届候精々説道作興之功可相立候事

In response to your petition: “Feeling moved by the advent of this campaign of sacred indoctrination and hoping to repay a small ounce of debt to my country (国恩 *koku'on*), I cannot but request permission to teach prisoners two times per month in the two stockades and the gaols. By means of the Three Teachings combined with the Buddhist doctrine of karmic rewards and punishments (仏教因

⁸³ Minowa was also affiliated with Gōmyōji temple (仰明寺) in Fukui, but it seems he was stationed at Asakusa when he filed his petition. See Tsukuda (1968), 76.

⁸⁴ Tsukuda (1968), 75.

⁸⁵ *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 32. See also *KKHN* (1974), 3.

果応報 *bukkyō inga ōhō setsu*), I hope to bring them to repent (懺悔 *zange*) of their past mistakes and to change their hearts (改心 *kaishin*) so that they may stand on new ground.” Permission is hereby granted for you to endeavor to expound the Way by this means.

– The fifth year of Meiji, July. Aichi Prefecture.⁸⁶

Unfortunately, Keitan’s temple was burned down during the bombing of Nagoya, so most of his records do not survive.⁸⁷ However, a memorial stone located on the grounds of the new temple records that he had been responsible for admonishing exiled Urakami Christians placed under the custody of his Buddhist temple (Ugai was based in Ōwari domain).⁸⁸ The Urakami Christians were released by 1873, which means that Ugai likely wrote his petition to begin prison ministry either while he was still remonstrating to the Christians or shortly after the move to release them had begun. It is evident from his request that he intended to sermonize within a framework derived from both the Three Teachings of the Great Promulgation Campaign and a generalized Buddhist concept of karmic rewards and punishments.

In addition to karma, Ketian’s petition makes reference to three other doctrinal terms: debt to the country (国恩 *koku'on*), repentance (懺悔 *zange*), and change of heart (改心 *kaishin*). This petition clarifies that the doctrinal components essential to the formation of the discourse of the prison chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) were in place from the earliest Shin prison preaching. The logic of Keitan’s petition holds that the preaching of the dharma may bring about repentance and thereby lead to change of heart.

⁸⁶ Qtd. In Tsukuda (1968), 75.

⁸⁷ KKHN (1974 vol. 2), 3-4.

⁸⁸ Tsukuda (1968), 74. Tsukuda reproduces the text from Ugai Keitan’s memorial stone. This stone makes a reference to his work with the Urakami Christians.

Furthermore, this change of heart specifically implies that one embraces the obligations to the state. The teaching of the law of karma serves as a means to influence the formation of conscience so as to bring a person in line with the collective ethos. It is not without reason that Keitan's petition is regarded by the Shin prison chaplaincy as inaugurating their vocation.⁸⁹

The second prison chaplain was the Ōtani-ha priest Minowa Taigaku (蓑輪対岳, 1837-1879).⁹⁰ Taigaku petitioned the Ministry of Doctrine for permission to preach in a prison in Tokyo (Ishikawajima Prison, forerunner to Sugamo Prison).

At this time, I am serving as a lecturer in my capacity as a national instructor (教導職権中講義 *kyōdōshoku gonchū kōgi*), and I work tirelessly day and night to fulfill these responsibilities because I aspire to proselytize effectively. However, although there are those who abide in the light of day, exposed to the benefits of our indoctrination, there are also those who are sequestered in darkness, unaware of our work, who remain unaffected.

I have once heard that the governments of Western countries imprison citizens who violate the law in jails that are staffed with instructors (教師 *kyōshi*). These teachers kindly educate (説諭 *setsuyu*) them so that they are awakened through remonstrance (誨悟 *kaigo*) to the error of their ways. This must be extremely moving to behold.

However, in our country I have never heard of the existence of such a law. For that reason, when our criminals are released, they once again violate the law. For many years I have been lamenting that our failure to employ the means of instruction (説諭 *setsuyu*) brings us to this. I am thus most pleased, in my capacity as a national instructor in service to the court, to request permission to be allowed to offer my services in the ardent persuasion of those in the jails (囚獄所 *shūgokujō*) and penal camps (徒刑場 *tokeiba*). To this effect, I humbly submit my petition to the Ministry of Doctrine and ask you to please grant permission as soon as possible.⁹¹

Taigaku's reference to western models of prison chaplaincy is notable. It is possible that he was aware of such practices due to the publicity that surrounded Ohara Shigechika's

⁸⁹ KKHN (1974 vol. 2), 3.

⁹⁰ KKHN (1974 vol. 2), 11-16.

⁹¹ KKHN (1973 vol. 1), 32-33.

Prison Rules with Charts. Ōhara mentions the presence of prison chaplains (教師 *kyōshi*) in the colonial jails of Singapore and Hong Kong.⁹² Due to the obvious motif of competition with Western powers, Taigaku's rhetoric can be understood as an appeal to the regime's stated objective of civilization and enlightenment (文明開化 *bunmei kaika*). However, he also provides a pragmatic rationale to support his request: he claims that the rate of recidivism is too high, and that this can be attributed to the lack of "instruction" in the jails.

Taigaku's petition traveled a circuitous route through Higashi Hongan-ji to the Ministry of Doctrine to the government of Tokyo then finally to the Secretary of the Judiciary (司法卿 *shihōkyō*).⁹³ In September, likely in response to this petition, the Ministry of Doctrine held a meeting and decided to order all Middle Teaching Institutes to encourage their national instructors to follow Taigaku's lead by petitioning regional prisons for permission to preach to the incarcerated on Sundays.⁹⁴ Thus, prison proselytization became a component of the Great Promulgation Campaign project.

By August of 1872, Taigaku had received permission to enter Ishikawajima Prison. It is possible to gain a sense of his sermons because Taigaku produced his own *Manual for National Instructors* (教導職必携 *Kyōdōshoku Hikkei*, date unknown) in which he discussed preaching to incarcerated people.⁹⁵ He writes that the goal for the incarcerated is "to work dilligently at their duties; to observe the laws; as quickly as

⁹² See Ohara (1976).

⁹³ Taigaku's petition and the response are discussed in Ogawara (2004), p. 131-2. See also *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 12.

⁹⁴ *NKGS* (1974), 752.

⁹⁵ Qtd. In *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 13-14.

possible, to turn back to the heart of goodness; and to become good subjects (善心ニ帰向シ良民ニナリ *zenshin ni kikō shi ryōmin ni nari*).”⁹⁶ The Shin histories report that his sermons were grounded in the three teachings of the Great Promulgation Campaign combined with the conventional Buddhist doctrine of karmic rewards and punishments and the Shin doctrine of Two Truths (真俗二諦 *shinzoku nitai*).⁹⁷

Prison chaplaincy began when national instructors Ugai Keitan and Minowa Taigaku petitioned for permission to preach to the incarcerated. Based on what little documentary evidence remains, it appears that the earliest prison sermons shared many of the themes that remain standard in the discourse of chaplaincy: an emphasis on indebtedness to the nation; a stated goal of encouraging repentance or self-reflection; and an interpretation of the doctrine of karma as intertwined with the penal code. Keitan and Taigaku were not the last national instructors to petition for access to the incarcerated.⁹⁸ They initiated a trend that took off at the national scale.

The Expansion of Prison Chaplaincy: 1872-1885

Between 1872 until 1881, chaplaincy spread at a grassroots level with no overarching government program specifically in charge. The official histories of the Shin prison chaplaincy *Japanese Prison Chaplaincy* (日本監獄教誨史 *Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai-shi*, 1927) and *One Hundred Years of Prison Chaplaincy* (教誨百年 *Kyōkai*

⁹⁶ Ibid. 14.

⁹⁷ *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 34.

⁹⁸ See the entry for *kyōkai* in Nakamura et al’s *Bukkyō Jiten* (2014), 209. It gives the general topics of *kyōkai* as follows: 1.) indebtedness to the nation (国恩 *koku’on*); 2.) indebtedness to parents (親の恩 *oya no on*); and 3.) self-reflection (自己反省 *jikō hansei*).

Hyakunen 1973-4) each contain brief overviews of the history of prison chaplaincy in all major Japanese correctional facilities.⁹⁹ In all reported instances, prison chaplaincy was established in each facility in response to petitions from religionists requesting access to the incarcerated. In other words, the prisons did not request the assistance of religious organizations; representatives from religious organizations asserted that prison ministry was their responsibility. This pattern continued even after the Great Teaching Institute closed in 1875.

Shin national instructors were particularly active in applying for permission to preach in penal institutions. However, as table 3.6 makes clear, in the early days of chaplaincy, national instructors hailing from a wide variety of sects sought permission to take up such work. Various Buddhist and Shintō groups are represented and so is the popular doctrine of Sekimon Shingaku (石門心学). During this period, wardens (典獄 *tengoku*) had relative autonomy, and a great variety of teachers appeared. Different sources provide different numbers, making it difficult to get an exact picture, but it is possible to get a sense of the overall trend of expansion.

⁹⁹ In *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), see 333-824. In *NKKS* (1927 vol. 1 and 2), see 263-1851 (continuous pagination across two volumes).

Table 3.6. The Expansion of Chaplaincy in the Meiji Period				
Year	Total Facilities with chaplains	Facilities that added chaplains this year¹⁰⁰	Chaplains' sectarian affiliation¹⁰¹	Start Date
1872 Meiji 5	7 facilities <i>The Great Teaching Institute opens.</i>	Sugamo Nara Nagoya Ishikawajima Kanazawa Toyotama Okayama	-Shingaku -Kegon -Ōtani -Ōtani -Honganji and Ōtani -Shintō and Buddhist -Shinto and Buddhist	1870-1? 1870-1? May 7th September October ? ?
1873 Meiji 6	17 facilities <i>The Urakami Christians are released in March.</i>	Yokohama Gifu Odawara Kumamoto Fukuoka Wakayama Chiba Niigata Fukushima Zeze (Gifu)	-Shinto and Buddhist -Honganji -Shinto and Buddhist -Ōtani -Shinto and six Buddhist sects -Shinto -Shingon, Jōdo, Nichiren, Honganji -Shinto -Honganji -Ōtani	April April May September October November ? ? ? ?
1874 Meiji 7	27 facilities <i>Confinement to prison becomes a standard punishment.</i>	Tokushima Akita Sakuramachi Aomori Yamaguchi Tottori Kosuge Hakodate Kofu Tanimura (Kofu)	-Shinto and Buddhist -Shinto, Honganji, Ōtani -Buddhist sects -Shinshū -Shinto, Buddhist -Shinshū -Shinto, Confucian, Buddhist -? -Seven Buddhist sects -Buddhist sects	March March May July ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
1875 Meiji 8	36 facilities <i>Honganji-ha and Ōtani-ha abandon the Great Promulgation Campaign.</i>	Kōchi Wakamatsu Maebashi Tokyo Okura Nagano Toyooka Hiroshima Hamada	-Honganji -Shinto and Buddhism -Honganji -Shinto and Buddhism -Honganji -Buddhist sects -Buddhist sects -Honganji, Ōtani -Shinto, Confucian, Buddhist	February April July October ? ? ? ? ?

¹⁰⁰ The facilities are listed in the order in which they accepted chaplains. This information is approximate at best.

¹⁰¹ The sectarian affiliations are listed as they are written in *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (2006), and *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1). Some entries are more specific than others because of ambiguity in the original source.

1876 Meiji 9	43 facilities	Oita Matsuyama Urawa Kyoto Sakai Matsue Morioka	-Shinto -Honganji -Shinto -Shinto -Shinto and Honganji -Shinto and Sōtō -Honganji	June November ? ? ? ? ?
1877 Meiji 10	50 facilities	Daikokuchō Kawagoe Shirakawa Osaka Sendai Yamagata Yōkaichiba	-Various sects (?) -Various sects (?) -Honganji -Shinto, Buddhist, Shingaku -Honganji, Ōtani -Shinto -Jōdo	December ? ? ? ? ? ?
1878 Meiji 11	54 facilities	Sapporo Shizuoka Kobe Komatsu	-Sōtō -Honganji -Honganji -Shinto, Buddhist	June December ? ?
1879 Meiji 12	56 facilities	Yashiro (Kumamoto) Kagoshima	-Honganji -Honganji, Ōtani	? ?
1880 Meiji 13	61 facilities	Takada Kurume Takamatsu Miyazaki Tanabe	-Honganji -Ōtani -Shinto -Honganji -Confucian	January January May ? ?
1881 Meiji 14	68 facilities <i>The term kyōkaishi appears in the penal code for the first time.</i>	Fukui Nakatsu Okinawa Tamashima Takahashi (Okayama) Miyazu Anotsu	-Honganji -Honganji -Ōtani -Honganji -Honganji -Honganji -Shinshū Takada-ha	April July December ? ? ? ?
1882 Meiji 15	82 facilities	Hachioji Shimoda (Shizuoka) Sakada Nemuro Hamamatsu Iida Kumatani Mito Nakamura Yonako Doura Karafuto Ujiyamada Taira	-Ōtani -Confucian -Ōtani -Jōdō -Shingon, Rinzai -Honganji -Honganji -Confucian -Rinzai -Sōtō -Shinto and Buddhist -Sōtō -? -Ōtani-ha	January January February June September ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?

1883 Meiji 16	93 facilities	Yamaguchi Aikawa Saga Shimonoseki Miike Okazaki Gojō Ōmagari Toyama Sorachi Ueda	-Ōtani -Ōtani -Honganji -Honganji -Honganji -Ōtani -Honganji -Ōtani -Shinto, Ōtani, Honganji -Shinshū -Honganji?	June August September September November December December December ? ? ?
1884 Meiji 17	105 facilities <i>The Great Promulgation Campaign officially ends.</i>	Tsuyama Hikone Akaishi Mitsugi Shinjō Saijō Tatsuno Sasayama Komezawa Numatsu Karatsu	-Honganji -Ōtani -? -Ōtani -Ōtani -Nichiren-shū -Honganji -? -? -Nichiren, Ōtani -Sōtō	April June July July September October December ? ? ? ?
1885 Meiji 18	108 facilities <i>Prison Chaplaincy is now virtually universal.</i>	Uwajima Tsurugaoka Iwakuni	-Shingon -Sōtō -Honganji	May June ?

Source: This chart was made with reference to the chronologies included in *KKHN* (1973-4), *NKKS* (1927), *NKGS* (1974 vol. 2), 818-822, Yoshida (1991 vol. 5), 208-212, and *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (2006).

The Prison Chaplaincy Becomes Official

Government documents from as early as the mid 1870s refer to the work of religionists in prisons as “admonition” (教誨 *kyōkai*).¹⁰² However, the term prison chaplain (教誨師 *kyōkaishi*) first enters the law in 1881 in Article 92 of Ohara Shigechika’s revised *Prison Regulations* (監獄則 *Kangoku Soku*).¹⁰³ Article 92 defines the responsibilities of the prison chaplains as follows:

教誨師、悔過遷善ノ道ヲ講説シテ囚徒ヲ教誨ス

¹⁰² See, for example, documents from 1875 cited in *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (2006), 83.

¹⁰³ See Kondō in Akaike and Ishizuka (2011), 99. See the original text in *NKGS* (1974), 834-5.

Chaplains are to admonish prisoners through lectures explaining the Way of repentance and turning to the good (悔過遷善ノ道 *kaika senzen no michi*).¹⁰⁴

Article 93 further stipulates that prison chaplains should minister to the inmates on their days off or on Sunday afternoons.¹⁰⁵ The four character phrase “repent errors; turn to the Good” (悔過遷善 *kaika senzen*) becomes an essential component of the vocabulary of the chaplaincy. That this process is described as a Way is not insignificant. The original aim of the Great Promulgation Campaign had been to establish a “Great Way” for all Japanese people. Here we see a more limited interpretation of the Way. It is not a Way for all, but rather for those who have somehow fallen afoul of the law. Despite the limited nature of this application, it is clear that prison chaplains—like the national instructors—are teachers of a Way. In both instances, the concept of a Way resonates with the notion that Japanese citizens are the bearers of sacred obligations to live in accord with a public ethos. The phrase “repent errors; turn to the Good” implies “change of heart” (改心 *kaishin*). Doctrinal admonition (教誨 *kyōkai*) becomes a legal term to refer to the method for leading inmates to repentance and change of heart. Admonition is a technique of persuasion that serves to bring the hearts of transgressors into harmony with the values of the public authorities. It aligns perfectly with the logic of Ohara’s modern penal institutions, the purpose of which is to instill discipline.

In 1881, there were prison chaplains in approximately sixty-eight penal institutions. From that year onwards, the prison chaplaincy expanded rapidly until it was

¹⁰⁴ *NKGS* (1974), 799. Also cited in *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (2006), 83.

¹⁰⁵ *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 36.

essentially a universal component of the Japanese prison system by 1885.¹⁰⁶ Despite the ubiquity of the prison chaplains, until 1892 their pay was the responsibility of each religious group's head office or temple (本山 *Honzan*).¹⁰⁷ Though some prisons covered travel expenses, many chaplains went without pay.¹⁰⁸ Reading between the lines, it seems reasonable to imagine that one by one, groups without financial or human resources dropped out. Jōdo Shinshū continued to invest money and personnel in prison chaplaincy, and by the late Meiji period the Shin sects had a near monopoly.

1889 was a landmark year for the development of the prison chaplaincy. This year saw the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution (大日本帝国憲法 *Dai Nippon Teikoku Kenpō*) with its provision for limited religious freedom.¹⁰⁹ In the same year, chaplains were officially appointed as state employees. The new status is reflected in the *Prison Staff Regulations* (看守及監獄備人分掌例 *Kanshu oyobi Kangoku Yōjin Bunshō Rei*) disseminated by the Home Ministry (内務省 *naimushō*) and another revision to the Penal Regulations (監獄則 *Kangoku Soku*) which included the *Regulation for the Employment of Prison Chaplains* (教誨師勤務規定 *Kyōkaishi Kinmu Kitei*).¹¹⁰ The latter enumerated for the first time the specific duties of prison chaplains. They were to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic to prisoners under 16, to teach ethics (道義 *dōgi*) to all prisoners,

¹⁰⁶ *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 34-5.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 36-7.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Article 28 guarantees religious freedom “within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects.”

¹¹⁰ See the full text in *NKGS* (1974), 834-5. For a helpful timeline, see *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (2006), 84.

and to perform group and individual chaplaincy sessions.¹¹¹ With additional penal code reforms in 1892, the state finally moved to take responsibility for paying a share of the wages of prison chaplains from the following year.¹¹² By this time, chaplains were present in virtually all Japanese correctional facilities, and with a few notable exceptions, the majority of them were Jōdo Shinshū priests affiliated with either East or West Hongan-ji.

Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of the development of the prison chaplaincy from the origins of prison proselytization in the Great Promulgation Campaign through its period of grassroots expansion until its formal incorporation into the prison system in 1892. I have argued that the prison chaplain (教誨師 *kyōkaishi*) is the “spiritual successor” to the national instructor system (教導職 *kyōdōshoku*) for two reasons. First, because all of the earliest prison chaplains were national instructors. Second, because the philosophy and ideals of correctional rehabilitation (矯正 *kyōsei*) absorbed concepts like “change of heart” (改心 *kaishin*) from Great Promulgation Campaign discourse. Prison chaplains and national instructors both work to promote obedience to the state and its laws through moral indoctrination. Moreover, both national instructors and later prison chaplains share a focus on the hearts (心 *kokoro*) of individuals.

¹¹¹ NKGS (1974), 834-5

¹¹² Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei (2006), 84.

At the outset of this chapter, I asked two questions. If both privatized religion and public morality have rightful claims to the hearts of the people, how can the two be distinguished? And, how does Shin advocacy for prison chaplaincy—with its emphasis on prioritizing duty to the state above the dictates of conscience—relate to Shin advocacy for religious freedom and the freedom to decide one’s own private beliefs? Over the course of this chapter, we have seen that there is no easy answer to the first question. The discourse of the prison chaplaincy (*kyōkairon*) emerges from the discourse of Shin Buddhists working in the Great Promulgation Campaign. Akamatsu’s General Buddhism Curriculum exemplifies a general trend seen also in Shimaji’s *Petition to Establish a Ministry of Doctrine* and Ugai Keitan’s petition to be allowed to proselytize in prisons. Shin Buddhists attempted to articulate their understanding of a public ethic grounded in Buddhist doctrines to which all Japanese should rightfully be obligated. I sought to reveal the characteristics of that public ethos: a focus on karma as a trans-sectarian, universal truth; the ideal of the unity of the dharma and the law of the state; and the undergirding concept of a Great Way for the Japanese people (seen as manifested in Shinto, Confucian, and Buddhist traditions). This version of Shin Buddhist discourse does not disappear. It continues to the present day as a mainstay of the prison chaplaincy. To the second question: in this chapter, we have seen that the undergirding political concept in modern Shin Buddhism is that of two levels of truth and two levels of law (真俗二諦 *shinzoku nitai*). This key concept internalizes a tension: *the worldly law and the transcendent law are both distinct and overlapping*. This tension continues to animate discussions about the purpose of the prison chaplaincy and also to inform the structure of its theology and practice to the present day. In the following chapter, we will see how Shin prison

chaplains refined their theory and practice under the Meiji Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education by building on the inheritance we have explored here.

Chapter 4

The Role of the Chaplain: Buddhism, Christianity, and Prison Religion in Meiji Japan

Intro

This chapter explores how Shin clerics established the fundamental doctrines and practices of the prison chaplaincy in order to achieve control over the vocation in the 1890s.¹ Shin Buddhists developed a formalized system for prison chaplaincy by drawing on longstanding doctrinal and ritual traditions to interpret crime as a form of moral evil and the rehabilitation process as a matter of rectifying the heart (心 *kokoro*), purifying karma, and restoring to the state a loyal subject. Shin advocacy for prison chaplaincy reflected the political ideals of the Honganji-ha which were centered around a vision of unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign (王法仏法 *ōbō buppō*).² I argue that the role of the prison chaplain came to mirror the sect's vision for its own role in society in line with the doctrine of complementarity (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*) between the dharma and the law of the sovereign: the sect and the chaplain were presented as responsible for harmonizing private (私 *shi*) commitments with public (公 *ōyake*) duties. Protestant

¹ The 1890s saw the standardization of the Japanese model of prison chaplaincy (教誨 *kyōkai*) as well as the genesis of the vocation's most enduring debate: should prison chaplaincy be primarily geared towards the religious goal of conversion (宗教主義 *shūkyōshugi*) or the ethical aim of reform (道義主義 *dōgishugi*)? Nakao Bunsaku writes of the enduring nature of this debate. See Nakao (1970). The two positions are also referred to as religious prison chaplaincy (宗教教誨 *shūkyō kyōkai*) and ethical prison chaplaincy (道義教誨 *dōgi kyōkai*) by Arima Shirōsuke in the *Kangoku Zasshi* (October 1898), 17.

² In Kuroda Toshio's studies of medieval Buddhism, the concept of the unity of dharma and law (王法仏法) describes the reigning ideology and a relationship of mutual legitimation that exists between Buddhist institutions and political authorities. In the modern period, the unity of dharma and law is not a political reality. In the case of Meiji period Shin advocacy for prison chaplaincy, this term expresses the nature of a political vision. I use it to represent the ideal that seems to motivate Shin Buddhists to weave *kyōkairon* from the threads of their own doctrine and the penal code. See Kuroda (2006).

Christian prison chaplains presented a challenge to Shin dominance over the prison chaplaincy in the late 1890s. In response, the Shin sects launched a campaign to present Christian chaplaincy as a subterfuge perpetrated by activists seeking to Christianize the prisons by advancing their private interests against the interests of the public. The essential political objective motivating Shin advocacy for prison chaplaincy was to draw the distinction between the private and the public so as to advance the social position of the Buddhist establishment and their own sect (i.e., they were pressing for a closer unity between the dharma and the law of the sovereign).

Historical Overview

The development of the Japanese prison chaplaincy in the 1890s can be divided into two stages. The first phase covers the Shin sects' formalization of the prison chaplaincy as a vocation. This project was initiated by a series of conferences about chaplaincy held throughout 1892 and 1893 which lead to the publication of the vocational journal *Prison Chaplaincy* (監獄教誨 *kangoku kyōkai*). As a result of these efforts, prison chaplains became a particular class within the Shin Buddhist priesthood. Their role was characterized by their attachment to a state institution (prison) and doctrinal and ritual specializations tailored to the needs of the institutional host. The immediate catalyst for the move to standardize the practices of the chaplaincy was the passage of the Meiji Constitution (大日本帝国憲法 *Dai Nihon Teikoku Kenpō* 1889) and the Imperial Rescript on Education (教育に関する勅語 *Kyōiku ni kan suru Chokugo* 1890). These legal documents structured the relationship between religion and state in the Meiji period.

In response, the Honganji sect sought to advance its position relative to the state by solidifying its dominance over prison chaplaincy.

The records of these conferences and the vocational journals reveal the process by which Shin sects standardized the model for prison chaplaincy by drawing on longstanding doctrinal and ritual traditions. Based on the concept of doctrinal remonstration (教誨 *kyōkai*), the Shin chaplains formalized the discourse of the Japanese prison chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*), routinized the characteristic ritual practices of Japanese prison religion, and staked their claim on the correctional system by donating Buddhist altars and chapels (教誨堂 *kyōkaidō*) to prisons throughout Japan. Central to the effort to incorporate Pure Land Buddhism into the correctional system was the interpretation of crime as a form of moral evil and of the rehabilitation process as a matter of rectifying the hearts of offenders. This project of theological interpretation produced the characteristic doctrines and practices of Japanese prison chaplaincy.

The second phase corresponds to the political maneuvering whereby the Shin sects established their monopoly over prison chaplaincy. This development was catalyzed by the Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident (巢鴨監獄教誨師事件 *Sugamo Kangoku Kyōkaishi Jiken*) of 1898.³ The Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident stemmed from a challenge to the Shin dominance of prison chaplaincy presented by Protestant Christian chaplains and prison officials. Protestants made inroads into the prison service in Hokkaidō throughout the 1890s, and when a leader of the Hokkaido Christian group was promoted to warden (典獄 *tengoku*) of Sugamo Prison (巢鴨監獄 *Sugamo Kangoku*) in the heart of the capital in 1898, a struggle broke out between the Christian warden and

³ Arima Shirōsuke in a letter from 1898. Qtd. in *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 131

Shin chaplains. The ensuing debate over prison chaplaincy escalated to the highest levels of government, and its resolution in favor of the Shin Buddhists established their de facto monopoly over prison chaplaincy until the end of the Second World War. This chapter turns first to the establishment of the Shin model of prison chaplaincy in the early 1890s and then to the late 1890s political battle for the soul of the vocation that set the course for prison chaplaincy for the first half of the next century.

Religious Freedom and State Shinto

The debate about the appropriate relationship between the private and the public resonates throughout the history of Japanese politics.⁴ It is necessary to situate the development of the prison chaplaincy in the context of the Meiji period construction of the public/private divide and to ask what this process has to do with the separation of religion from the state (政教分離 *seikyō bunri*) and religious freedom (信教の自由 *shinkyō no jiyū*).

The changes in the governance of religion that characterized the first decades of the Meiji period can generally be indexed to political decisions about where to draw the lines between public duties and private commitments. The public sphere came to be defined in terms of ethical obligations for loyalty to the emperor, and state authorities made efforts to contain religious organizations and circumscribe religious commitments to the non-political realm of private life.⁵ In what follows, I provide a brief summary of

⁴ The public private divide is not solely a Shin issue. Hardacre (2017) traces the history of how the boundaries between public and private were drawn in relation to the formation of the Shinto tradition.

⁵ Maxey (2014) provides a well-documented account of the debates surrounding religious freedom in Meiji Japan.

the legal changes that structured the public/private divide and their implications for understanding Shin advocacy for prison chaplaincy.

Moving into the 1890s, two major legal developments established the fundamental framework for governing religion and set the trajectory for religion-state relations until the end of World War Two. These were the Meiji Constitution of 1889 (大日本帝國憲法 *Dai Nippon Teikoku Kenpō*) and the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 (教育ニ関スル勅語 *Kyōiku ni kan suru Chokugo*).⁶ The constitution established legal limitations upon religious freedom (i.e. placed religion in the private realm) and the Imperial Rescript on Education set forth guidelines for the duties of subjects (i.e. defined the public ethic). Article twenty-eight of the 1889 Meiji Constitution reads: “Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.”⁷ The authorities sought to ensure that religious commitments were subordinate to duties to the state. The year after the Constitution was promulgated, the government issued the Imperial Rescript on Education to assert an official ideology. Though much of the Rescript amounts to “a combination of familiar ethical platitudes and patriotic sentiments,” the text also announced an imperial ideology that established the national polity (国体 *kokutai*) as the

⁶ For an example of a modern Shin discussion of the Imperial Rescript on Education, see Hanayama (1982b), 102. Hanayama’s discussion of the Shōtoku constitution concludes by noting that the text has influenced the formation of Japanese law and culture throughout the ages. He claims that the spirit (精神 *seishin*) of the Shōtoku constitution can still be seen in the modern age in such texts as the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 (教育ニ関スル勅語 *Kyōiku ni kan suru Chokugo*).

⁷ Meiji Constitution (1889), Article 28 reads: 日本臣民ハ安寧秩序ヲ妨ケス及臣民タルノ義務ニ背カサル限ニ於テ信教ノ自由ヲ有ス. Available online via the *National Diet Library Website*. At <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/etc/c02.html> (accessed February 3, 2017).

dominant expression of the public.⁸ The concept of the national polity is a theological interpretation of the essence of the Japanese nation based on the myth of a divinely descended imperial line and grounded in the notion that the Emperor of Japan is like a father to his subjects.⁹ In the first half of the twentieth century, *kokutai* thought formed a key ideological support for Japanese imperialism.¹⁰ The state began systematically promoting the concept of a national polity and the imperial ideology surrounding it in the wake of the promulgation of the Meiji constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education.¹¹ These legal developments shaped the course of religious life in Japan into the twentieth century.

Murakami Shigeyoshi argues that the Meiji Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education are the foundations of State Shinto ideology (国家神道 *Kokka Shintō*).¹² In 1970, Murakami defined State Shinto as follows:

Until just over twenty years ago, State Shinto was the state religion that ruled the Japanese people. It was a religious and a political system (宗教的政治的制度 *shūkyōteki seijiteki seido*). For eighty years, from the Meiji Restoration until the end of the Pacific war, State Shinto, the religion of Japan, exerted influence broadly and deeply over the lives and minds of the citizens (国民の生活意識 *kokumin no seikatsu ishiki*). In the modern period in Japan, all matters relating to thought (思想 *shisō*) and religion (宗教 *shūkyō*) were set on a course fundamentally determined by State Shinto.¹³

⁸ This summary is based on De Barry et al (2005), 780.

⁹ This account of the *kokutai* theory is based on that found in the *Encyclopedia of Japan*, available through the *Japan Knowledge Database*. (Accessed February 7th, 2016).

¹⁰ *Fundamentals of our National Polity* (国体の本義 *Kokutai no Hongi*, 1937) is an infamous Shōwa period textbook associated with this idea. A reprint is in wide circulation in *Senzen no Kokumin Kyōiku: Kokutai no Hongi* edited by Kure PASS Shuppan, ed. (1985).

¹¹ For an overview of the relationship between the Imperial Rescript on Education and *Kokutai* thought, see Shimazono (2010) 156-65.

¹² Murakami (1970), 79.

¹³ Murakami (1970), i.

According to this interpretation, State Shinto was a state-imposed religion and an ideological driver responsible for propelling Japanese imperialism on a course to total war. This State Shinto theory is subject to continuing debate.¹⁴ Shinto scholars largely reject the notion that Shinto was uniquely responsible for Japanese imperialism, and they are committed to making a distinction between the shrine priesthood and state projects that, in their view, coopted Shinto shrines, symbols, and rites.¹⁵ Hardacre points to another weakness: Murakami's theory amounts to a "totalizing explanation" of Japan's modern history that "presumes [...] the Japanese people were unknowing, easily led, and lacked self-awareness, a patronizing and unjustified generalization."¹⁶ While the concept of state Shinto remains a contentious one, studies of Shinto in the modern period provide some necessary conceptual tools for thinking through the relationship between religion and state.

There is no denying that the legal framework governing religion during the modern period divided the social world into public/private spaces in such a way that Shinto was promoted to the public realm while other religions were required to retreat into private life.¹⁷ Reflecting on this division, Shimazono maintains that the State Shinto system of religion-state relations amounted to a dual structure (二重構造 *nijū kōzō*).¹⁸ On the one hand, the state affirmed the unity of rites and government (祭政一致 *saisei itchi*)

¹⁴ See Hardacre (2017) for a summary of the debate. 355-9.

¹⁵ Sakamoto, ed. (2006). Sakamoto Koremaru is a prominent exponent of this position.

¹⁶ Hardacre (2017), 357.

¹⁷ See Hardacre (2017), particularly chapters 12 and 13. See also Shimazono (2011).

¹⁸ Shimazono (2010) 2.

and employed Shinto shrines as vehicles to conduct rites of state designed to promote loyalty to the emperor. On the other hand, shrines were legally defined as non-religious entities, so the state could simultaneously affirm its commitment to the separation of religion from state (政教分離 *seikyō bunri*) and freedom of religion (信教の自由 *shinkyō no jiyū*).¹⁹ Thus, subjects were to be indoctrinated (through both state rituals and public education) into an officially non-religious State Shinto (国家神道 *kokka shintō*) ideology that was to dominate the public realm (公 *ōyake*). Other religions, including Buddhism, sectarian Shinto, and Christianity, were permitted to operate only within the limited realm of private life (私 *shi*)—within bounds set by the rubric of the imperial ideology. Religion-state relations in modern Japan have been fundamentally structured by political decisions about how to draw the lines between legally-enforced public obligations (duties owed by citizens to the collective) and the private realm of personal freedoms (of belief, conscience, and association). It is beyond doubt that the civil religion (as expressed in the Imperial Rescript on Education) came to be defined in terms of loyalty to the emperor. The public ethic also bore a clear ideological component expressed through the symbols, rhetoric, and rites of Shinto, and both the ethic of loyalty and its supporting ideology were promoted through the mass media, public rituals, and the education system.²⁰

For students of the State Shinto theory, the prison chaplaincy presents a puzzle. At a time when the public realm was being increasingly defined in relation to Shinto, and when the state was committed to circumscribing Buddhism and other religions to an

¹⁹ Shimazono (2011) 2-8.

²⁰ There is a wealth of scholarship on this issue. See, for example, Fujitani (1996), Gluck (1987), Miyake (2015).

apolitical private realm, why were Shin priests permitted to dominate the state institution of the prison and monopolize the office of chaplaincy? In what follows, I will show that the answer lies in the organizational effectiveness, political clout, and forceful lobbying of the Shin sects. All of this was driven by a tradition of Shin political thought in which the role of the sect is defined as managing the private realm so that private commitments do not rise to threaten the public authorities.

Complementarity between the Dharma and the Law of the Sovereign

The Honganji-ha and the Ōtani-ha sects of Shin Buddhism were both responsible for pressing for Shin control over the prison chaplaincy in the 1890s. Though these sects each have their own history, their joint advocacy for prison chaplaincy can be said to reflect the political vision laid out in the 1886 sect charter (宗制 *shūsei*) of the Honganji-ha. Chapter two of the charter announces the official position regarding the relationship between the dharma and the law of the sovereign:

一宗ノ教旨ハ仏号ヲ聞信シ大悲ヲ念報スル之ヲ真諦ト云ヒ人道ヲ復行シ王法ヲ尊守スル之ヲ俗諦ト云是即チ他力ノ安心ニ住シ報恩ノ経営ヲナスモノナレハ之ヲ二諦相資ノ妙旨トス

The essence of the doctrine of this sect is as follows. What we call the ultimate truth is to be mindful that it is through the blessing (念報 *nenpō*) of the Buddha's great mercy that we hear and trust in the name of the Buddha. What we call the provisional truth is to respect the law of the sovereign that governs dealings in the Way of humanity.²¹ We make this the excellent principle of our sect: these two levels of truth complement one another (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*). We oversee the repayment of the ruler's benevolence precisely by abiding in the heart of peace (安心 *anjin*) that arises through Other Power.²²

²¹ The compound 人道 could be read to mean both the Way of human beings (*hito no michi*) or the human realm of samsara (*jindō*).

²² The sect charter is reproduced in Hirano and Honda (2011), 74-80. The text cited here is also qtd. in Kondō (2015), 16.

In this charter, the relationship between the law of the sovereign and the dharma is described as one of complementarity between two levels of truth (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*). What is the nature of this complementarity? It is clear that the charter prioritizes obedience to the law of the sovereign, which is tantamount to the public (公 *kō*). There is an ideal of the unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign at work. However, the sect charter introduces an additional dimension to the Shin doctrine of the unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign by invoking the language of two truths (二諦 *nitai*). The root concept of two levels of truth (真俗二諦 *shinzoku nitai*) can be attributed to the writings of Nagarjuna (龍樹 *Ryūju* d. 250 CE?) where its function is epistemological.²³ In Nagarjuna's writings, the concept literally differentiates levels of truth and relates primarily to the nature of knowledge. Its primary meaning in Shin Buddhism is not unrelated, but it takes on a marked political significance in that it designates two levels of law (the worldly and the dharma).²⁴ In this light, what is the complementarity between these two levels of law, and how are they related to the conception of the public and the private in Shin Buddhism?

Shin thinkers since the Edo period have traced the politicized reading of the doctrine of two truths to the political and institutional reforms initiated by Rennyo (蓮如 1415-1499), the eighth patriarch of Shinshū.²⁵ Rennyo sought to curb the excesses of

²³ On the gestation of this concept, see Yamazaki in Yamazaki (1996), 13.

²⁴ There is an extensive bibliography covering *Shinzoku nitai* in the Shin tradition. Some important works include Hirata (2001), Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Kangakuryō (2008), Seitoku'an (1927), Yamazaki (1996).

²⁵ On Rennyo, see Blum and Yasutomi (2006), Dobbins (2002), and Minor and Minor (1991). Rennyo himself does not use the term *shinzoku nitai*. Neither does Shinran use this term, though early modern sect

violent rebellions perpetrated by Shin Buddhists against the rulers (一向一揆 *ikkō ikki*) and to unify the Shin temples under the authority of the central Honganji temple.²⁶ In seeking to reach a rapprochement, he argued that Shin Buddhists should “bow to the law of the sovereign and keep the dharma deep in the heart (内心 *naishin*)” and that they must “make the law of the sovereign the foundation (王法為本 *ōbō wo moto to shi*) and prioritize righteousness (仁義 *jingi*).”²⁷ Rennyō maintained that it was necessary to recognize an internal dimension of faith (内心 *naishin*) as distinct from the public performance of loyalty demanded by the authorities in charge of the political world. Rennyō thereby draws a line between the law of the sovereign (王法) and the dharma (佛法 *buppō*), implying that although it is the role of the dharma to support the law of the sovereign, the two are not, in fact, one and the same. Working from Shinran’s soteriological framework, Rennyō imagines that there is an irreducible, non-physical core to the human person that has needs which cannot be met by the political authorities alone. In other words, he proposes that the heart (心 *kokoro*) of the human cannot be reduced to or satisfied by the possibilities offered by politics and the public realm because there will always be a remainder or some need left unfulfilled. The key soteriological concepts of Shin Buddhism speak to this need: the heart of faith (信心 *shinjin*); the heart of peace (安

thinkers interpreted the writings of both Shinran and Rennyō through this light. See Yamazaki in Yamazaki (1996) for a discussion of this issue.

²⁶ On *ikkō ikki*, see Dobbins (2002).

²⁷ The original text is from one of Rennyō’s Letters (御文章 *Gobunshō*). This quote is from collection three section (letter?) twelve (三帖一二 *sanjō jūni*) dated to the twenty-seventh day of the first month of 1476. This sentence is quoted in Kuroda (2006), 34-5. The same sentence is also cited in Yamazaki in Yamazaki (1996) 20-21. The full text of the letter can be seen in the Honganji *Jōdo Shinshū Canon* (浄土真宗聖典 *Jōdo Shinshū Seiten*). See Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Sōgō Kenkyūsho, ed. (2013), p. 1159.

心 *anjin*).²⁸ The implication is that though the political authorities may rightfully demand obedience in the public realm, the inner life of humanity—the private realm—must also be structured and oriented towards the purpose of transcending suffering. Grounded in an understanding of the nature of the human and a belief that this world is inevitably conditioned by suffering, Rennyo produces a *raison d'être* for his sect precisely by acknowledging the limitations of politics to fulfill the hopes of the masses and offering the dharma as a means to alleviate their suffering. In this way, the private hopes of the masses may be channeled through the dharma away from potentially disruptive political action and towards the transcendence of suffering through faith.

Following Rennyo, the Honganji sect charter gives a clear preference to the public realm, but this acknowledgement is coupled with the assertion that the sect has a rightful role in structuring the private domain of faith (内心 *naishin*). The meaning of the concept of the complementarity of the two levels of truth (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*) in the sect charter thus becomes clear. The charter presents a division of roles between the sect and the state as beneficial to public order. *The charter proposes that if the sect has authority over the private, then the dharma can contribute to harmonizing private interests with the law of the sovereign and the public good.* Thus, the social task of the sect (as presented in this charter) appears to be that of defining the relationship between the intimate realm of private desires and the encompassing realm of public responsibilities so that private interests are subordinated to the public good: “We oversee the repayment of the ruler’s

²⁸ These concepts are ubiquitous in Rennyo’s letters, for example. See Rennyo’s letters in the Honganji *Jōdo Shinshū Canon* (浄土真宗聖典 *Jōdo Shinshū Seiten*). Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Sōgō Kenkyūsho, ed. (2013).

benevolence precisely by abiding in the heart of peace (安心 *anjin*) that arises through Other Power.”

In the Meiji period, the public/private divide was interpreted broadly to correspond to a division between secular ethics (世俗倫理 *sezoku rinri*, 道義 *dōgi*, or 道德 *dōtoku*) and religion (宗教 *shūkyō*).²⁹ Meiji intellectuals like Kiyozawa Manshi and the philosopher Inoue Tetsujirō (井上 哲次郎 1855-1944) sought to articulate the nature of the distinction between religion and ethics.³⁰ Kiyozawa maintains that morality grounded in religion is superior to a worldly ethics because religion transcends the limited self whereas ethics does not.³¹ By contrast, Inoue argues that a nationalist ethics should rightfully take precedence over religious commitments, and he criticizes Christianity on these grounds as incompatible with the moral duties of Japanese subjects.³² In order to understand Meiji period debates about the role of the chaplain, it is important to note that the distinction between religion and ethics maps onto the distinction between the private and the public. This connection will help us to make sense of the Shin sect’s position regarding chaplaincy as it came into focus through debates between Shin Buddhists and Christians over the future of the vocation.

In sum, Shin thinking about the public and private divide can be seen to undergird a constellation of doctrinal binaries: the law of the sovereign vs. the dharma, the provisional truth vs. the ultimate truth, and secular ethics vs. religion. There is a binary

²⁹ The terms 道義 and 宗教 were used by warden Arima Shirōsuke in a letter from 1898. Qtd. in *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 131.

³⁰ See Kiyozawa 宗教と道德の關係 *Shūkyō to Dōtoku no Kankei* (1896), Inoue 教育と宗教の衝突 *Kyōiku to Shūkyō no Shōtotsu* (1893).

³¹ See Kiyozawa (1896).

³² See Inoue (1893). On Inoue, see Hoshino (2012), 159-161.

structure fundamentally rooted in the public/private distinction that informs Shin positions about the relationship between religion and state. This binary can be represented as follows:

Table 4.1 The Public/Private Distinction in Shin Thought

0	Public = 公 <i>ōyake</i>	Law of the Sovereign = 王法 <i>ōbō</i>	Provisional Truth = 俗諦 <i>zokutai</i>	Secular ethics 世俗倫理 <i>sezoku rinri</i>
1	Private = 私 <i>shi</i>	Dharma = 仏法 <i>buppō</i>	Transcendent Truth = 真諦 <i>shintai</i>	Religion 宗教 <i>shūkyō</i>

This binary conveys the relationship between some concepts basic to Shin political thought. In sum, this tradition sees the public good as the rightful domain of the sovereign and his law, and the private is seen as the rightful domain of the dharma. The principle of complementarity binds the two realms. We have seen above that the private is regarded as the potential source of selfish desires that could sow conflict and disharmony. Because the dharma provides a strategy for overcoming selfish desires, its proper social function is to harmonize the private with the public. Thus, the dharma is thought to preserve the social order, and political leaders therefore have an obligation to protect the dharma. The role of the sect is defined in relation to this understanding of the nature of political power.

This binary thinking also implies that the private dimension (the domain of the dharma) cannot be eliminated entirely or reduced to the political. Rennyō's invocation of the internal (内心 *naishin*) rests on an understanding of the human in which we are

possessed of an irreducible private dimension. This private dimension has specific needs that cannot be satisfied by worldly rulers or worldly goods.

The current of Shin political thought outlined here provides the doctrinal basis for understanding the Shin sect's advocacy for prison chaplaincy. The conception of the social role of the sect expressed in the Honganji charter fundamentally undergirds the thinking about the role of the chaplain. We will see that the chaplain's task is defined as rectifying the hearts of offenders. Thus, the chaplain is responsible to admonish prisoners on the basis of Buddhist doctrine (教誨 *kyōkai*) so that the offenders will internalize a private value system (内心 *naishin*) that is fundamentally in harmony (和諧 *wakai*) with the public good (公 *ōyake*) promoted by the state and its law. The public/private binary also sheds light on the significance of the prison chaplain as a lens through which to view the dynamics of religion state relations in Japan. Because the chaplain is an agent of both sect and state (dharma and law of the sovereign), the chaplain embodies the tension implied by the duality of Shin thinking about the public and the private.

Conferences

In the previous chapter we saw that the prison chaplaincy started from a grassroots campaign led by the national instructors. Once the state made prison chaplaincy an official component of the correctional system, Shinshū moved to assert control over the newly recognized vocation. The Honganji sect sponsored the first major prison chaplains' conferences in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Nagasaki. One objective of these conference was the formation of a professional network for prison chaplains. Their primary aim was to define the vocation of the chaplain and set a course for its future

development. These conferences reveal the evolution of a curriculum, the articulation of clinical metrics for observing and evaluating clients, and the production of doctrine and practices linking Buddhism, religion, and “change of heart” (改心 *kaishin*) to character reform and crime prevention. The conferences were also rituals of professionalization: through participation, younger prison chaplains were invited to build relationships with senior chaplains, and a sense of tradition was established.

Routines

From April 17th of 1892, Honganji-ha sponsored a week-long conference of the Eastern Division chaplains (東部 *Tōbu*) at the Tsukiji Honganji Betsu-in (築地別院) temple in Tokyo.³³ Thirty-six chaplains from the Kantō region attended the conference, twenty-two from Honganji-ha, five from Ōtani-ha, two from Sōto-shū, one each from Shinshū Takada-ha and Jōdo-shū, and three identified ambiguously as hailing from Confucian traditions—most likely Shintō priests.³⁴ A record of the conference lists the key issues as follows:

the goals of chaplaincy (crime prevention, upholding prison discipline, encouragement of labor, faith and religion, self-reliance and independence); the standards of chaplaincy (national, religious, etc.); the methods of chaplaincy (moralistic, empathetic, nationalistic, sectarian, legalistic, etc.).³⁵

Over the course of this conference, the chaplains sought to reach consensus about their common principles and methods. Among other decisions, the chaplains voted in favor of the following propositions: that there would be no chaplains under thirty years of age;

³³ *NKKS* (1927), 138-146.

³⁴ The preface indicates that in some instances the character 儒 *ju* has been used to represent Shintō. This may be because of the centrality of Confucian doctrines like filial piety to their preaching.

³⁵ *NKKS* (1927), 139.

that the purpose of conducting death row chaplaincy was to lead the inmate to peace of mind (安心 *anjin*), and that during chaplaincy sessions jokes and humorous stories were not to be permitted. Perhaps the most significant decision taken at this conference was to establish a Prison Chaplaincy Office (東京教誨通信所 *Tōkyō Kyōkai Tsūshinsho*) at the Tsukiji Betsu-in temple of Honganji in Tokyo. Subsequent chaplains' conferences held in Kyoto and Kyushu also concluded with the decision to establish regional prison chaplaincy offices in those districts, indicating the development of regional networks throughout Japan. Through the auspices of the Tokyo Prison Chaplaincy Office, Honganji commenced the publication of its journal *Prison Chaplaincy* (監獄教誨 *Kangoku kyōkai*) later in 1892. This publication was the first vocational journal for the training of the Shin Buddhist chaplains.

A series of subsequent regional conferences was held throughout 1892. Honganji-ha hosted one in Kyoto where the chaplains decided on a standard typology of different chaplaincy sessions based on the routines of the prison facility.³⁶ They divided chaplaincy sessions into two general sets: types of Group Chaplaincy (集合教誨 *shūgo kyōkai*), and types of individual chaplaincy (個人教誨 *kojin kyōkai*). The types of group chaplaincy are stated as follows:

- 1.) Sessions conducted on days off
- 2.) Regular Sunday sessions
- 3.) Award ceremonies
- 4.) Special ceremonies
- 5.) Sessions conducted during free time
- 6.) After work
- 7.) Infirmary

³⁶ Ibid., 147-161. This was the week-long conference of the central division chaplains (中部 *chūbu*) held from October second of 1892 at the Honganji Senkyōin in Kyoto. Forty-two chaplains attended, the majority affiliated with the host temple, Honganji-ha.

- 8.) Funerals
- 9.) (Sessions conducted for those in confinement with reduced rations.
- 10.) Sessions conducted for New admits
- 11.) Pre-release³⁷

Individual chaplaincy sessions were also divided into types based on categories of inmates and cycles in the prison routine. The chaplains divided their experience as follows:

- 1.) New admits
- 2.) Upon request
- 3.) For inmates with whom one is familiar
- 4.) Via correspondence.
- 5.) For mourners
- 6.) For the sick
- 7.) For extremely evil inmates
- 8.) For those confined to their cells
- 9.) For those in solitary confinement
- 10.) For those on reduced rations
- 11.) For those confined in the dark room
- 12.) Pre-release
- 13.) Death row inmates.³⁸

The routines of the chaplains were clearly based on the routines of the prison institution.

Chaplains working in different facilities compared notes to arrive at a common understanding of their work by recognizing similar patterns in different institutions.

These routines suggest that the prison chaplaincy evolved in this early period through penetration of the new institutions followed by adaptation to their routines. The result of

³⁷ Ibid., 150. Each item represents either an event in the schedule of the prison or a category of inmate. For example, inmates could be placed on restriction with reduced rations if they violated the rules. It is likely that some facilities housed those under restriction in a separate area, thus making group chaplaincy sessions convenient. Moreover, though Sundays are of no particular significance in the Shin Buddhist temple calendar, Japanese prisons in the Meiji period followed the Western practice of granting Sunday as a day of rest for inmates. Thus, in prisons in Meiji Japan, Buddhist prison chaplains would give sermons to the inmates.

³⁸ Ibid., 150-1.

this grassroots strategy was that chaplains eventually achieved integration into the management and daily operations of prison facilities.

The chaplains also compiled a list of methods for observing the emotional state of prisoners. This list reflects a refinement of the clinical gaze of the prison chaplain.³⁹ It is evidence of the development of their particular way of knowing and seeing. The list includes the following metrics, all posed as questions:

How does the inmate conceive of kami, buddhas, and ancestors? How is the depth of an inmate's religion or faith? How is the inmates' attitude of love and respect towards his parents and his wife? What does the inmate read or pay attention to when he reads? How is the inmate's attitude towards prison staff? Do the inmate's words accord with his deeds? With whom among the other inmates is the inmate close? How does the inmate think about his work? What is the state of the inmate's correspondence with the chaplain? How is the inmates' attitude after meeting with the chaplain? [...] Does the inmate have financial resources? What are the inmate's goals for his future?⁴⁰

The chaplains in attendance at this meeting agreed that these are among the questions that chaplains must ask themselves about their charges. It is clear from the nature of these questions that they reflect a focus on the internal or private (私 *shi*) dimension of an inmate's being. These questions cover religious beliefs: "How does the inmate conceive of kami, buddhas, and ancestors?" And they also address an inmate's beliefs about prison labor: "How does the inmate think about his work?" The chaplains' clinical gaze developed to measure the heart. The chaplains agreed that statistics (統計 *tōkei*) should ideally be kept to measure and refine the effectiveness of their methods. Because of the

³⁹ My invocation of the clinical gaze is informed by Foucault (1995).

⁴⁰ NKKS (1927), 157-8.

taxing nature of the work, they also agreed that no chaplain should be tasked with handling more than two hundred and fifty clients.⁴¹

Prison Chapels

In 1893, Honganji-ha prison chaplains in Kyushu held their own conference.⁴²

This conference is particularly notable for three reasons: the decision to make a formal request for a specialized chapel (教誨堂 *kyōkaidō*) to the warden of each prison facility; the attempt to establish a shared Shin Buddhist curriculum for the prison chaplaincy; and the decision to take statistical surveys of the prison population and to exchange this information among chaplains' groups so as to allow for the further refinement of the methods of the chaplaincy. The decision to share statistical data passed evidently without elaboration, but the discussion of the chapel and the curriculum produced some interesting proposals.

The invasiveness of the request for the chapel indicates how deeply involved in the prison system Shin priests had become by 1893. The chaplains agreed that requests regarding chapels should be informed by the following general principles.

The prison chapel is a sacred space, the sanctity of which should not be disturbed. The chapel should be treated with dignity, and should be designated solely for chaplaincy. The Buddha images enshrined in the chapels must be treated with appropriate reverence. When chaplaincy sessions are conducted, beginning with the warden, all prison staff in attendance must bow in reverence to the Buddha image.⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid. 158.

⁴² Ibid. 161-73. Only fifteen chaplains were in attendance, all hailing from either Ōtani-ha or Honganji-ha. This conference took place after the founding of the chaplain's offices in Tokyo and Kyoto, and based on the content of the proceedings, it is clear that by this time the chaplains in Kyushu had access to the records of the previous conferences. The record of the Tokyo conference was published in May of 1892. Watanabe, ed. (1892).

⁴³ NKKS (1927), 161-73.

By the end of the Meiji period (1912), Buddhist sects financed the construction of chapel buildings at fifteen different penal institutions.⁴⁴ By 1927, they had also provided one hundred and fifteen penal institutions with an assortment of Buddhist paraphernalia, including Buddha images, paintings, altars, sutras, sutra boxes, and stands for ritual offerings.⁴⁵ Thus, by the late Meiji period, most prisons in Japan featured either a free-standing chapel or at least an altar space designated for chaplaincy, typically set up in a corner of the workshop or the cafeteria.⁴⁶ Some chapels were also constructed later using state finances. Few examples of prison chapel architecture remain, but Abashiri prison (網走監獄 *Abashiri Kangoku*), the northernmost prison in Japan, has been converted to a museum, and its chapel, built in 1912, still stands.⁴⁷ The Abashiri prison chapel was presumably constructed with state funds as it is not listed in the donations register together with a host of other donations made by the Shin sects to the facility.⁴⁸

It is clear that the donations of Buddha images and chapels were connected to doctrinal ideas about the effectiveness of Buddhist ritual in the cultivation of the heart (心 *kokoro*). Ōtani-ha Chaplain Fujioka Ryōkū (藤岡了空 1847?-1924) published a pamphlet entitled *Petition in Favor of the Study of Prison Chaplaincy* (監獄教誨学提要草案 *Kangoku Kyōkai Gaku Teiyō Sōan*) in May of 1892, one month after the Tokyo chaplains' conference. In this petition Fujioka expands on many of the themes of the

⁴⁴ The donations are listed in *NKKS* (1927), 235-262.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ On chapel spaces, Tokuoka (2005), 34.

⁴⁷ See the official website of the Abashiri Prison Museum. http://www.kangoku.jp/exhibition_facility_kyokaidou.html (Accessed December 13th, 2016).

⁴⁸ See the entry for Abashiri prison in *NKKS* (1927), 261.

conference, arguing that the fundamental principle of prison chaplaincy is “to awaken the heart of repentance and turning towards the good (悔過遷善の心を発起せしむる *keka senzen no kokoro wo hakki seshimuru*).”⁴⁹ He issues a list of cautions regarding the expansion of chaplaincy, and chief among his concerns is the construction of chapels and the installment of Buddhist icons.⁵⁰ He claims to have had discussions with prison staff who say that since the erection of a chapel and the installment of a Buddha image, inmate behavior has improved.⁵¹ He follows this with a rhetorical question: what might be happening to the feelings of inmates when they witness even prison guards bowing politely in reverence to images of the Buddha? The sanctity (尊厳 *songen*) of the ritual space provides an effective means of instilling national virtues (我国人民をして徳義に化せしむる *wagakokumin wo shite tokugi wo kaseshimuru*).⁵² Fujioka’s claim for the power of Buddhist ritual resonates with longstanding doctrinal themes in the history of Japanese Buddhism: the Buddha, the dharma, and the Sangha have the power to change peoples’ hearts for the better.⁵³ According to Fujioka’s logic, given that the mission of the prison is to promote reform, it is only natural that Buddhists participate in the effort.

By donating altars and chapels to prisons throughout the Meiji period, the Honganji sects (and several other Buddhist sects) were staking a claim on the correctional

⁴⁹ Fujioka (1892), 13.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵² *Ibid.* 42-3.

⁵³ Beliefs about the power of Buddhism to improve the human person are diverse and pervasive. A modern example would be the essay by Karai in the Ōtani sect chaplain’s manual. See Karai in *Shinshū no Kyōkai hensan iinkai* (2011), 43-145. Karai discusses Kiyozawa Manshi’s view of self-discipline (修養 *shūyō*) in relation to this issue.

system. Shin prison chaplains gradually penetrated the prison system and their roles became incorporated into the prison routine. Once the prison chaplains and their specialized sacred spaces were incorporated into the prisons, the prison routine itself came to be shaped around the inclusion of Buddhist elements.

Curriculum

In addition to the move to establish chapels throughout the Japanese prison system, the Kyushu chaplains meeting also marks the initiation of another policy: building a curriculum for prison chaplaincy. The model the Shin chaplains propose is clearly based on the same typology of chaplaincy sessions that the Tokyo chaplains' meeting identified earlier in the year. However, perhaps because the Kyushu meeting was comprised entirely of Shin chaplains, this conference developed a more explicit program.

- 1.) Group chaplaincy: preach the law of cause and effect
- 2.) Periodic chaplaincy: preach the principles of grace and kindness.
- 3.) New Admits: explain the rules of the prison
- 4.) Pre-release: explain the Way for human beings
- 5.) In the workshop: Encourage the inmates to abide by prison regulations
- 6.) In the cell: preach about religious peace of mind
- 7.) For those under punitive restriction: preach so as to invite inmates to the way of repentance.
- 8.) For the sick: offer psychological refuge.
- 9.) For special occasions: preach in accordance with the needs of the hour.⁵⁴

By 1893, it is clear that Shin chaplains were moving independently to establish a curricular model for prison chaplaincy based on the doctrines of their own sect. The standard group chaplaincy session, performed regularly as part of the prison schedule, became an opportunity to preach the law of cause and effect (因果応報 *inga ōhō*) to the

⁵⁴ NKKS (1927), 164.

incarcerated population. We will see shortly that such group preaching sessions focused on a doctrinal interpretation of the relationship between crime and punishment in which evil actions incur bad karma and the suffering (i.e. the punishment) that comes with it. The other guidelines focus on other doctrinal or legalistic principles. For example, the new admits were provided with an explanation of the rules of the prison. This must be coupled with the pre-release session, wherein the inmates were offered an explanation of the “Way of humanity” (人道 *jindō*). We saw above that the way of humanity was included in the domain of the worldly law (俗諦 *zokutai*) in the 1886 Honganji sect charter. Taken together, the “new admits” session and the pre-release session bookend the prison experience. In the same way that the prison rules are presented for new admits, the way of humanity (i.e. the authority of the law of the sovereign and its ethical demands) were presented to those facing release. Finally, individual sessions (“in the cell” and “for the sick”) focus on issues more closely related to contemporary discourses of spiritual care (心のケア *kokoro no kea*)⁵⁵ such as “religious peace of mind” (宗教的安心 *shūkyōteki anshin/anjin*). The notion of “peace of mind” gestures towards a private dimension of individual suffering that the chaplain is equipped to alleviate.

The chaplaincy emerged from the national instructor system in the 1870s, and by the 1890s Shin sects began to organize conferences seeking to establish fundamental doctrines and practices. Through such efforts, Shin Buddhists formalized the role of the prison chaplain by drawing on longstanding doctrines like the law of cause and effect and ritual traditions associated with the veneration of Buddha images. As the chaplaincy expanded throughout the Japanese prison system, chaplains were incorporated into the

⁵⁵ *Kokoro no kea* discourses are outlined in the first chapter of this dissertation.

daily routines of their institutional hosts. Buddhist sects continued to donate altars and prison chapels throughout the Meiji period, thereby producing a Buddhist sacred space to perform dharma talks and rituals in service to the work of reform. In the course of their work, chaplains interpreted crime as a form of moral evil, the rehabilitation process as a matter of rectifying the heart (*kokoro*), purifying karma, and restoring to the state a loyal subject.

The Honganji-ha *Prison Chaplaincy* Journal

The first edition of the vocational journal *Prison Chaplaincy* (監獄教誨 *Kangoku Kyōkai*) was published in July of 1892. The first volume begins with a declaration of the aims of the publication, stating that the intention is to “promote the goal of correctional reform (遷善改過 *senzen keka*).”⁵⁶ The journal was a forum for chaplains to communicate about their methods, their vision for the future of the vocation, and the problems they faced in the course of their work. The journal was also circulated for prisoners to read.

The initial run of the Honganji-ha *Prison Chaplaincy* journal appears to have lasted only two years (1892-3). After 1893, it appears that there was no sectarian vocational journal for Buddhist prison chaplains for some years, though articles relating to chaplaincy appeared regularly in the secular *Journal of the Japanese Prison Association* (大日本監獄協会雑誌 *Dai Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai Zasshi*, 1888-1898; 監獄

⁵⁶ *KGKK* (1892) vol. 1, 1.

協会雑誌 *Kangoku Kyōkai Zasshi* from 1899-1922; 刑政 *Keisei* from 1922-1955).⁵⁷ It was not until 1903—twenty years later—before Ōtani-ha began to publish its own sectarian prison chaplaincy journal (感化同志会報 *Kankadōshi Kaihō*).⁵⁸ Ultimately, both the Honganji-ha journal and the Ōtani-ha journal were merged into a joint publication (教誨時論 *kyōkai jiron*, date unknown) before being subsumed in 1907 into the Buddhist social welfare journal *Seijin* (成人, ?-1913), and then in 1913 into the larger, secular *Journal of the Japanese Prison Association*.⁵⁹

Each edition of the *Prison Chaplaincy* journal contains transcripts of prison chaplaincy sessions,⁶⁰ excerpts from famous doctrinal texts, karma tales (説話 *setsuwa*), selections from a serialized overview of Buddhist doctrine, various short essays, letters to the editor featuring questions submitted by chaplains, and reports on events of interest that took place both within and beyond prison walls.⁶¹ Much of this material is of potential interest, but the prison sermons deserve particular attention as they are the earliest records of chaplaincy sessions. In this section, I will introduce five representative texts published in this journal. These include four written sermons (for an audience of inmates as well as chaplains) and one essay on method written for chaplains.

⁵⁷ The Meiji period editions of this journal are available online through the Japanese Correctional Association website, <http://www.jca-library.jp/kangokukyoukaizassi/list1.html> (accessed December 13, 2016).

⁵⁸ *NKKS* (1927), 136.

⁵⁹ This data is based on the catalogue of the *Kyōsei Toshokan* in Nakano in Tokyo. Accessed in the summer of 2016.

⁶⁰ It is sometimes unclear whether these are transcripts sermons given in prisons or whether they were written to be circulated as texts rather than performed.

⁶¹ See Appendix A for a complete index.

I argue that a reading of this journal reveals the heart of the discourse of the chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*). What are the characteristics of this discourse? The overarching theme is rectifying the hearts of offenders through doctrinal remonstrance. The first sermon included in the first volume is that of one of the Honganji sect's luminaries, Shimaji Mokurai (島地黙雷 1838-1911). We saw in the previous chapter that before Shimaji advocated for separation of religion from state and religious freedom, he appealed for the foundation of a Ministry of Doctrine in 1872. In so doing, he argued that Buddhists should be allowed to contribute to the Great Promulgation Campaign as instructors in the new national Way. In the twenty years between 1872 and 1892, Shimaji's lobbying contributed to the legal recognition of a degree of religious freedom as seen in the Meiji Constitution of 1889. Shimaji's political commitment to promoting religious freedom did not mean that he embraced a relativist view of the truth of Buddhist doctrine. To the contrary, his prison sermon reveals a commitment to the idea that the Buddhist teaching remains foundational for ethical reflection.

In this sermon, titled simply "Admonishing Prisoners,"⁶² Shimaji promotes an interpretation of what it means to be human. His presentation is grounded in the Buddhist doctrine of a gradated scheme of reincarnation, wherein animals and hell-dwellers are consigned to a lower place on the totem pole than humans and divine beings. The general import is that a human life is subject to special moral responsibilities due to our intellectual capacity to perceive morality and to imagine a metaphysical foundation underlying our moral intuitions.

⁶² No location is given, so it is likely that this was not a speech but rather a written sermon intended for circulation among prisoners.

Ah, prisoners! Each of you knows the reason why you have been incarcerated here. If you would but think on it yourselves, it should be clear to each of you without having to listen to my rambling. And by what thought is it that you would be able to know this for yourselves? It is the idea that you are superior to all other creatures—namely, you are not cows, horses, dogs or cats, but human beings endowed with a wondrous intelligence (靈妙の知識 *reimyō no chishiki*).

Ah, boys, you are just so, superior to all other creatures, and your hearts (心 *kokoro*) are equipped with this wondrous intelligence, but for some reason you have each deceived your own intelligence and lost its virtue (徳 *toku*). You have fallen to the level of birds, beasts, and the other animals through inappropriate conduct.

Now, if you look back, you should see yourselves as wretched, shameful, hateful, and lamentable. Perhaps due to some selfish desire (私欲 *shiyoku*), or through rage, or through jealousy, or through a grudge, you temporarily forgot the virtue of humanity and deceived your own wondrous intelligence. In the end, you forgot that one should be grateful for this human birth. This is a sign that you lost the original virtue of your humanity. If you think on it yourselves, you will understand. If you listen to my admonitions, you will reflect on this and know it to be true, so that you may awaken the heart of repentance (後悔の心 *kōkai no kokoro*), regret your past misdeeds, and practice self-control in your future so as to reform (遷善改過 *senzen keka*). You will be able once again to regain your bright virtue, to return to your rightful place as good subjects (良民に立ち戻る *ryōmin ni tachimodoru*)—and this is precisely because human beings are superior to all creatures and endowed with a special virtue.⁶³

Shimaji asserts that human beings are endowed with an essential virtue (徳 *toku*)—namely, our wondrous intelligence (妙智 *myōchi*). This intelligence is what separates us from the animals. His assertion that human beings are categorically different to animals relies on ideas about the nature of the heart (心 *kokoro*). He argues that the inmates have lost their own original nature (abandoned their humanity) due to some selfish desire (私欲 *shiyoku*). The appearance of this desire disrupts the harmony of an individual's heart, and the person dulls their “wondrous intelligence” (靈妙の知識 *reimyō no chishiki*). In other words, internal disharmony blinds the conscience to the demands of morality, and

⁶³ Shimaji in KGKK (1892 vol.1), 2-3.

here lies the immediate cause for the commission of a crime. The crime leads to arrest and the inmate's suffering in prison. To solve this problem, Shimaji offers doctrinal admonition (教誨 *kyōkai*) so as to awaken the heart of repentance (後悔の心 *kōkai no kokoro*) which is necessary to achieve the goal of correctional reform (遷善改過 *senzen keka*). If all goes according to plan, at the end of this process, the inmate's internal harmony is restored, their conscience is properly tuned to the social order and the laws of karma, and the self-discipline necessary to control selfish desires is instilled. Finally, the incarcerated person is released and he returns to the fold as a loyal subject (良民に立ち戻る *ryōmin ni tachimodoru*).

This sermon can be analyzed to reveal a basic structure of the Shin interpretation of crime that is the foundation for doctrinal admonition (教誨 *kyōkai*). In outline, the structure of the *kyōkai* process maps on to the interpretation of suffering that undergirds the foundational Buddhist doctrine of the Four Noble Truths (四聖諦 *shishōdai*). The correspondences can be charted as follows:

Kyōkai Stages	Kyōkai Process	Doctrinal Foundation	Four Noble Truths⁶⁴
Step 1: Internal Disharmony	A person succumbs to a selfish desire (私欲 <i>shiyoku</i>) and his heart loses its original virtue.	Desire (貪 <i>ton</i>) ⁶⁵ arises from ignorance (無明 <i>mumyō</i>). ⁶⁶	2: Craving is the cause of suffering.
Step 2: Crime and Arrest	The anti-social, selfish desire is enacted resulting in a crime and leading to an arrest and suffering in prison.	Desire is the cause of suffering (苦 <i>ku</i>). ⁶⁷	1: There is suffering.
Step 3: Admonition	The prison chaplain admonishes (教誨 <i>kyōkai</i>) the inmate based on Buddhist doctrine.	The person suffering is taught the dharma (教誨 <i>kyōkai</i>)	3: There is a path to the end of suffering.
Step 4: Internal Harmony Restored	The heart of repentance is awakened (後悔の心 <i>kōkai no kokoro</i>) and the inmate reforms (遷善改過 <i>senzen keka</i>).	The heart of faith (信心 <i>shinjin</i>) ⁶⁸ is awakened.	4: The Eightfold Path. Factor 1: Right View (正見 <i>shōken</i>).
Step 5: Release and Return to Society	The reformed person is released back into society as a law-abiding citizen and loyal subject (良民に立ち戻る <i>ryōmin ni tachimodoru</i>).	The believer resolves to follow the path (道 <i>michi</i>) ⁶⁹ towards the end of suffering.	4: The Eightfold Path.

Shimaji's sermon interprets the crime and rehabilitation process as one course in the cycle of samsara: the fall from a human birth to an animal realm followed by a return to

⁶⁴ See "four noble truths" in PDB (2014), 304-5.

⁶⁵ See *lobha* (desire) in PDB (2014), 478-9.

⁶⁶ See *avidyā* (ignorance) in PDB (2014), 86.

⁶⁷ See *dukkha* (suffering) in PDB (2014), 270-1.

⁶⁸ See *xinjin* (mind of faith) in PDB (2014), 1012. "The mind of faith is generally considered to constitute the inception of the Buddhist path. [...] Shinran glosses the mind of faith as the buddha-mind realized by entrusting oneself to Amitābha's name and vow."

⁶⁹ See *mārga* (path) in PDB (2014), 532.

the human. The repeated references to animals must be understood as metonyms standing in for the concept of samsara. In this sense, towards the end of his sermon, Shimaji writes that those who abandon the virtue (徳 *toku*) of their humanity by turning against morality have a “human face with the heart of a beast” (人面獸心 *jinmen jūshin*).⁷⁰ By this logic, those in prison are temporarily sub-human, but they may be redeemed through admonition and repentance. Admonition thus resembles a soteriological process intended to pull sentient beings to higher realms of samsara. The process is a matter of changing the offender’s heart (改心 *kaishin*) to produce loyal subjects (良民 *ryōmin*). We saw a similar logic at play in Matsumoto Hakka’s remonstrance with the Urakami Christians detained in Kanazawa.

The next example is an essay based on a sermon given by Ōta Kenju (多田賢住 1831-1910), chaplain at Tokyo Ichigaya Prison. Like Shimaji, Ōta focuses on defining the human in relation to a schema of moral responsibility. The sermon is entitled “The Human World is a World of Rewards and Punishments.”

When I say that human world is a world of rewards and punishments, I am not talking only about the prison. I am speaking about the world in general, both Japan and the West, because all of this is what we mean by the words ‘human world.’ The principle that this whole world is the world of rewards and punishments is what I would like to cover in today’s chaplaincy session (教誨 *kyōkai*). Dear readers, I hope that you will learn one thing from my admonition.

In the first place, because this world is characterized by the presence of good and evil, it is a world of rewards and punishments. The presence of good and evil and of rewards and punishments are inseparable from each other. In a certain book, it is written that death and life are like two sides of a page. Just as death and life always accompany one another, so long as there are human beings doing such deeds as we name good and evil, there will necessarily be rewards and punishments accompanying the human form. We must be prepared for this.

However, it is important to remember that there are two types of rewards and punishments. In ancient times, people used to say that one form was from

⁷⁰ Shimaji in KGKK (1892 vol. 1), 6.

Heaven, and that another form was the work of humans. The rewards and punishments of Heaven were thought to accord with the natural principles of good and evil and were referred to as the fruits of karma (果報 *kahō*). [The punishments and rewards conducted by humans are those ordained by the law of the nation (国家の法典 *kokka no hōten*).]

It appears as though many people believe that legal punishments and the like are the work of human beings without questioning whether or not there is some underlying natural law that invites these rewards and punishments. This is a grave error that arises from a lack of wisdom. [...] Even if a person could escape the punishments of the human law, there is no escaping the law of Heaven. [It cannot be avoided, and so we must live in accordance with its demands.]

For every action of good or evil, there will always be an effect of reward or punishment. To realize this is to sense the propensities of Heaven (天則 *tensoku*). Furthermore, I will add a brief explanation of rewards and punishments. Reward refers to anything that turns our fortune towards happiness. Punishment means anything that turns our fortune away from happiness. I ask each person in prison in the whole country to test this [theory of reward and punishment] by looking at the state of the world for yourself. Some people are happy; some are sad. Some are enjoying themselves, and others are suffering. In every land it is the same, and human life in past and present does not differ.

From the beginning, this world has been shaped by the principle of karma (因果 *inga*), and whether we agree or disagree, the natural principle of Heaven must be so. [...] Therefore, when a person violates this immutable, unavoidable, and implacable natural law, it always invites unhappiness. So, bearing [evil] in one's heart (意想 *kokoro*) and hoping for happiness is the same as clinging to ice and hoping for warmth or approaching a fire and hoping to be cooled. In the same way, it is completely unreasonable. Dear readers, please think on these things.⁷¹

Ōta's primary concern in this text is to encourage inmates to think about the relationship between the law of the state and the law of karma (因果 *inga*). He begins with the assertion that the prison is a microcosm of the human world in that it is characterized by rewards and punishments meted out in response to good and evil deeds. He claims that good and evil and rewards and punishments are essential components of the human condition that cannot be changed. He then invokes a longstanding tradition ("in ancient times...") in which people have typically thought of rewards and punishments in relation to two levels of law. In this tradition, the law of karma (果報 *kahō*) is attributed to

⁷¹ Ōta in KGKK (1892 vol. 2), 9-14.

heaven (天 *ten*), and the law of the state (国家の法典 *kokka no hōten*) is attributed to human beings. The tradition he invokes clearly mirrors the Shin Buddhist formulation of two levels of truth (真俗二諦 *shinzoku nitai*). However, Ōta's purpose for introducing this binary is to deny the separation. He maintains that the law of the state is actually built on the foundations of an “underlying natural law”—the law of karma. Thus, he asserts that the law of the state itself rests on a transcendent principle. This linkage binds the law of the state and the law of karma together.

He then leverages this argument to make a claim on the consciences of his audience. He shifts from a description of the nature of law to an argument about the nature of the human person expressed in a metaphor of the heart. He makes this transition by calling attention to the natural and universal human desire for happiness: everyone wants to be happy. He then suggests that only certain strategies for living can reasonably be expected to lead to happiness. Only those who live in accordance with the principles of the law of karma and the law of the state can expect their lot in life to improve. Finally, he links the pursuit of happiness to the cultivation of one's inner qualities. Intentions must be formulated skillfully, i.e. in harmony with the two levels of law that govern our fates. He argues that bearing evil in one's heart (意想 *kokoro*)⁷² must inevitably turn one's fortunes away from happiness because karma is an “immutable, unavoidable, and implacable natural law.” The underlying doctrinal logic assumes a relationship between intentions and happiness (the character 意 means “thought” or “desire” and is associated with words for “intention” like 意思 *ishi*). Intentional action

⁷² The reading *kokoro* is provided by Ōta in the text itself.

drives the production of good and evil karma: bad intentions produces bad results. This is the doctrine of cause and effect.⁷³ Thus, Ōta argues that if we want to satisfy our natural desire for happiness, then a proper understanding of the universal system of rewards and punishments requires us to cultivate our intentions so that we will act in ways that guide our fates towards reward and away from punishment.

Based on the tone of this passage, it seems reasonable to assume that Ōta's concern is to encourage inmates not to bear ill-will against the state for their incarceration. By inviting inmates to see their incarceration as the result of their own willful violation of the immutable laws of karma, he implies that bearing a grudge against the human authorities will be counterproductive. An attitude of rebellion against the law of the state is completely unreasonable because to do so amounts to rejecting the universal law upon which the human law rests. In this vision, karma and punishment are woven together in a combined religio-legal cosmology and anthropology. The result of this synthesis is that Ōta can offer an explanation of the existential meaning of the punishment process. This interpretation situates the individual in a cosmological schema and invites the inmate to bring his heart into harmony with this grand scheme of things. Ōta not only provides a justification of the powers that be. He also argues that the individual conscience should be formulated so that the individual views the state's power to mete out punishment and reward as a necessary component of the natural order. Furthermore, he adds to this the suggestion that the inmate is always subject to the law of karma. This amounts to an assertion that the inmates actions are always being monitored

⁷³ This description of karma follows the definition of 因果応報 *inga ōhō* in NBKJ (1985). See also the definition of *karman* in PDJ (2014), 420.

and judged, thereby inviting the inmate to internalize the external gaze of the prison guards (the state) into a self-monitoring function of conscience.

Ōta's rhetoric suggests a clear limitation to the discourse of the Meiji period Shin chaplaincy. This particular mode of doctrinal thought is not designed to consider whether or not the law of the state is just. As an agent of both state and sect, Ōta takes it for granted that the cosmos is on the side of the state. In this sense, he believes that the mechanisms of the transcendent law of cause and effect—punishments and rewards—operate through the criminal law and the prison institution. The other side of this assumption is that the cause for crime is necessarily seen as arising from disharmony in the hearts of individuals rather than from mitigating factors arising from problems inherent in the social structure. In this sense, the role of the chaplain is to harmonize the hearts of individual offenders with the law promoted by the public authority, not to ask whether or not that authority acts justly. This limitation can be indexed to the Honganji sect's affirmation of the public/private divide. The chaplain retains authority over the private (the heart of the individual offender) but does not question the righteousness of the public authority or the social structure. Thus, the role of the chaplain in the prison system mirrors the role of the sect in society as declared in the 1886 Honganji charter.

The third text is drawn from a sermon delivered by Akamatsu Kaion (赤松皆恩, 1828-1896),⁷⁴ chaplain at Ehime Prison. In chapter three we saw that Akamatsu authored a study-guide for Honganji-ha national instructors in the Great Promulgation Campaign. Like many national instructors, he became a prison chaplain and remained active in the

⁷⁴ The same Akamatsu Kaion 赤松皆恩 was the author of the *Buppō Tsūron Hachi-dai Kōkai* (1875, 2 volumes), discussed in chapter three.

prison service after the Great Promulgation Campaign collapsed. This text is a transcription of his “Pre-release Chaplaincy Session.” Akamatsu writes:

Without regard to whether their punishment is light or heavy, whether their sentence is long or short, upon the occasion of their final pre-release chaplaincy session, all inmates make the same claim. They say: “now that my sentence is served, I will certainly change my heart (改心 *kaishin*). I will not return to suffer the hardship of the prison again.” Such words are welcome, and surely this must be their intention (意 *kokoro*),⁷⁵ because there are those who weep tears of gratitude as they pass dejectedly out from the prison gates. But then, suppose such an inmate bumps into an old cellmate on the road home. Perhaps this man has saved some change from his labors in the workshop. Maybe they both go into a teahouse for a break. And, for a time, they discuss the labor and the hardships of the prison. After a short while, one of them suggests that they celebrate their release, and so they have a round of sake. And then another—and another! After a while they are really enjoying themselves. They both like going downtown, so they agree to go, and before long they are drunk, and our man has spent all of his pocket money.

At this moment, the evil heart (悪心 *akushin*) will begin to grow. Under these circumstances, there are many who turn once more to evil deeds for work (悪事を働く *akukoto wo hataraku*). Our [hypothetical] man commits petty crimes; he has no savings. He does not find honest work (正業 *seigyō*, “Right Livelihood”). While wandering around the town, a ne’er-do-well may seduce him, and this may lead to gambling or involvement in some other evil. Even if the years pass and place distance between this man and his past, he will soon enough be reunited with his evil karmic bond (悪縁 *akuen*).

There are many who reoffend and are made to return to the prison. Among them there are some who no longer feel shame and have no thought of fear. These come back to the prison only to say, “Hi! I’m back!” Even though such a display is loathsome, and even though there are some among them who are rightly despised, if you think about it for a moment, for someone to spend their precious human life confined to a prison is truly pitiful, a cause for the utmost sadness. There is an old expression which says that just as water will fill the shape of its vessel, so too will the good or evil of a person correspond to that of their friends.⁷⁶

This “pre-release” sermon would have been performed for the benefit of inmates whose sentences were near completion immediately prior to their release back into society.

Akamatsu provides here a doctrinal interpretation of recidivism that reveals a theory of

⁷⁵ The reading *kokoro* is provided in the text.

⁷⁶ Akamatsu in KGKK (1892 vol. 3), 20-21.

the nature of evil rooted in an understanding of the heart (心 *kokoro*). Akamatsu begins by noting that upon their release many inmates claim to have experienced a “change of heart” (改心 *kaishin*). That is, they claim to have reformed during their time in prison. He notes that this must truly be their intention (意 *kokoro*), situating the skillful intention in the reformed heart. Akamatsu is working from the same theory of reform outlined in schematic by Shimaji Mokurai. In this schema of prison chaplaincy, the heart of the inmate preparing for release has ideally been restored to a state of harmony with the law of karma and with the law of the state.

However, after release, the hypothetical inmate in Akamatsu’s story bumps into an unwholesome influence. They go drinking, the man spends all of his money, and the harmony of his heart is once again disrupted: “the evil heart (悪心 *akushin*) will begin to grow.” The “change of heart” (改心 *kaishin*) has been reversed because an evil intention (意 *kokoro*) has once more taken root in the heart. This evil heart then begins driving the man’s conduct, and he “turn[s] once more to evil deeds for work (悪事を働く *akukoto wo hataraku*).” Here again, the evil intention is the cause of criminal conduct because actions are seen as flowing from the heart. The theory of karma presented by the Buddhist prison chaplaincy consistently relies on the idea that intentions drive actions. This fundamental assumption informs the understanding of the role of the prison chaplain. The chaplain is responsible to help inmates to formulate skillful intentions, to harmonize their hearts with the law of karma, to structure their private, internal lives in accordance with the dharma and with the law. However, Akamatsu admits that despite the best efforts of the chaplain and the sincere resolve of those released back into society, all too often the chaplains’ admonitions (*kyōkai*) and correctional reform fail to achieve their ends.

Due to the corrupted heart, the man sinks into a pattern of unskillful, illegal conduct. He does not find honest work (正業 *seigyō*). The term 正業 *seigyō* means “Right Livelihood,” and it is one factor in the Noble Eightfold Path (八正道 *hasshōdō*).⁷⁷ Working from the metaphor of the path, we might say that our man has “fallen off the straight and narrow.” He is fundamentally out of sync with the dharma and the law, and he turns to a life of crime. The pattern described here is one of recidivism.

Finally, Akamatsu closes with a warning about the cause of recidivism: the danger of evil karmic bonds (悪縁 *akuen*). He exploits here the multiple meanings of the term “connection” (縁 *en*). In everyday parlance, this term refers to the bonds of relationship that bind people together: familial ties, ties of friendship, professional ties, the ties of community.⁷⁸ In this instance, Akamatsu is referring to connections with unwholesome influences—people likely to contribute to an inmate’s recidivism. The story of the two drunkards certainly conveys a warning about this kind of socialization. At the same time, the term “connection” (縁 *en*) also represents a key concept in popular Japanese Buddhist discourse about the nature of human relations.⁷⁹ Works of Noh drama, for example, are replete with discussions about the karmic bonds forged by past-life connections (縁 *en*).⁸⁰ The concept of the karmic connection underlies Akamatsu’s

⁷⁷ See the entry for 正業 *seigyō* in NBKJ (1985).

⁷⁸ See the entry for 縁 *en* in *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* available through the *Japan Knowledge Database* (www.jpanknowledge.com) accessed February 7th, 2017.

⁷⁹ In the Chinese Buddhist canon, the term can also be used to refer to the causes in the twelve-fold chain of dependent origination (十二因縁 *jūni innen*). See the entry for 縁 at the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* website (www.buddhism-dict.net) accessed February 7th 2017. The more refined level of doctrinal discourse about *en* seems to be beyond the scope of Akamatsu’s usage.

⁸⁰ On past-life connections in Noh drama, see Tyler (1992).

description of the lasting influence of evil connections: “Even if the years pass and place distance between this man and his past, he will soon enough be reunited with his evil karmic bond (悪縁 *akuen*).” As we saw with Ōta above, karma is regarded as an “immutable, unavoidable, and implacable natural law.” In other words, if an inmate returns to society only to socialize with the criminal element, then the association will certainly come back to haunt him. Worst of all, because relationships are thought to influence the development of character, the evil karmic bond is believed to have a corrupting influence on the heart (心 *kokoro*): “just as water will fill the shape of its vessel, so too will the good or evil of a person correspond to that of their friends.” Thus, evil karmic connections are particularly to be feared. This pre-release sermon on risk-factors to recidivism is clearly intended as a warning to inmates about the dangers of socializing with the wrong sorts of people. This warning is couched in the language of *kokoro* and karma that is typical of the discourse of the chaplaincy .

The fourth text is a transcript of a chaplaincy session conducted by the Sanskrit scholar Dr. Nanjō Bunyū (南條文雄, 1849-1927) at Toyama Prison on August 8th, 1892.⁸¹ This sermon is titled “The Meaning of Prison Chaplaincy.”

There is an expression, “karmic connections to the dharma may arise either through proper observance or through evil actions” (順縁逆縁 *jun'en gyakuen*). I heard that a Shinshū Ōtani-ha temple in Toyama city has held a series of Dharma talks over the past two days. Parents and siblings and spouses and relatives and friends are all gathered there to pay homage. In accordance with their karmic bonds [familial ties], they have gathered to listen to the Dharma. We call this “karmic connection to the dharma through proper observance” (順縁 *jun'en*).

On the other hand, now there are more than five hundred inmates assembled here in this prison chapel (教誨堂 *kyōkaidō*). Having slipped out of the karmic bonds [that hold your families together], it is as if you are each alone. You

⁸¹ Nanjō in KGKK (1892 vol. 4), 1-11.

have behaved in such a way that your parents and siblings at home have cut off their relations with you. There are no other people that you can rely upon for anything. However, as you have all assembled here to pay homage to the Buddha, you each can see that you are not the only member of your house [i.e. you are not without a community] after all. In your heart, you should feel encouraged. You should realize that there must be many people who fall into the same state.

Still, due to some misbehavior, you have been sentenced to hard labor. You thus have the chance to learn a trade producing works that you can see with your own eyes. At the same time, you also have the opportunity to learn something to benefit your formless spirit (無形の精神 *mukei no seishin*). There is an invisible path that you must guard in your heart (心の守るべき道 *kokoro no mamoru beki michi*). [...] Encountering this path in prison is what is meant by “forming a karmic connection to the dharma due to evil actions” (逆縁 *gyakuen*).

Among you there are parishioners of Shinshū temples who must have heard your elders chanting the name of the Buddha (念仏 *nenbutsu*). Chanting the name of the Buddha is an excellent thing, and this is what we do before the very Buddha himself. Just now there were those of you who imitated the chant very well. But how can the same mouth that chants the name of the Buddha be used to profit from swindling or to tell lies? How can the same hands that hold the rosaries in prayers to the Buddha be used to steal property, money, or other belongings? [...]

[If your only thought is to make excuses for yourself,] your self-centered heart (我心 *wagakokoro*) is stained by selfish desires (私欲 *shiyoku*) and egotism. However, now, by forming karmic bonds to the Dharma through the suffering [of prison], you have an opportunity. You must completely reform your hearts (心を改められねばならぬ *kokoro wo aratamerareneba naranu*). [For this purpose,] All of those present here will be made to listen to the chaplains' admonitions day after day [...].⁸²

The topic of this dharma talk, performed in the chapel at Toyama prison, is encapsulated in the four character phrase: 順縁逆縁 *jun'en gyakuen*.⁸³ This phrase can be rendered approximately into English as “karmic connections to the dharma may arise either through proper observance or through evil actions.” This concept represents an important aspect of Buddhist proselytization and provides an entry point for understanding how Buddhist doctrine can be applied to derive existential meaning from the experience of

⁸² Nanjō in KGKK (1892 vol. 4), 1-4.

⁸³ See the definition of 順縁逆縁 *jun'en gyakuen* in OBKJ (1981), 272.

incarceration. The principle of *jun'en gyakuen* rests on the division between two types of karma (業 jpn. *Gō*, literally “action”). According to traditional theories of karma, actions can be good, bad, neutral, or mixed.⁸⁴ Actions motivated by good intentions produce merit and ultimately lead to rewards. Actions motivated by bad intentions produce karmic debt and ultimately lead to punishments. Ōta invoked the same theory above when he spoke of the human world as a world of punishment and reward. The notion of *jun'en gyakuen* complicates this traditional distinction between good and bad karma by asserting that both good actions and bad actions can lead a person towards the dharma. Thus, in a counterintuitive sense, an evil action can be seen as a proximate cause for a person to turn towards the good. Nanjō argues along these lines that the commission of a crime and the subsequent penalty of incarceration could lead a person to reform and become a committed Buddhist. In that sense, an evil action could be seen as a proximate cause for spiritual growth if it leads to repentance and change of heart.

Whether or not the prison experience amounts to a karmic connection to the dharma depends upon what happens to the heart of the offender. For this reason, Nanjō informs inmates that in addition to the physical penalty of penal labor (“learning a trade producing works you can see with your own eyes”), they are also responsible to “learn something to benefit the formless spirit.” The religious significance of the prison experience is then introduced. Prisoners are here to learn “an invisible path that must be guarded in the heart” (心の守るべき道 *kokoro no mamoru beki michi*). He explains that the root cause for incarceration was a problem of disharmony within the heart: “your self-centered heart (我心 *wagakokoro*) is stained by selfish desires (私欲 *shiyoku*) and

⁸⁴ See *karman* in PDB (2014), 420.

egotism.” As we saw with Shimaji above, “selfish desire” is regarded as the source of internal disharmony and the bad intentions thought to drive criminal conduct. Thus, the solution is to restore the heart to harmony: “You must completely reform your hearts (心を改められねばならぬ *kokoro wo aratamerareneba naranu*).”

For this reason, inmates are to assemble in the prison chapel, chant the name of the Buddha (念仏 *nenbutsu*), and listen to the chaplains’ admonitions day after day. Listening to dharma talks and participating in Buddhist rituals provide means of purifying karma and rectifying the heart. If the inmate internalizes the dharma and undergoes a change of heart (改心 *kaishin*), then the suffering of the prison experience can be seen as redemptive. In this interpretation, prison becomes an opportunity to make the most of past mistakes by learning from them and “forming a karmic connection to the dharma due to evil actions” (逆縁 *gyakuen*). As in the other dharma talks, Nanjō draws a connection between the heart and karma with doctrinal remonstrance (*kyōkai*) serving as the strategy to bring the former into harmony with the laws of the latter.

The fifth and final example is an essay on method written for chaplains by the scholar Murakami Senshō (村上専精 1851-1929).⁸⁵ This work is titled “The Role and Objectives of the Prison Chaplaincy and the Preparations for Chaplains.”

Suppose I am now to perform chaplaincy sessions for a group of people in prison. The first order of business will be to explain the role of the chaplaincy. I believe that the nature of the role is as follows. In the first place, I am a Shin Buddhist priest. However, what I am to discuss is not to be biased in favor of Shinshū—or Zenshū or Nichirenshū or any of the others. In short, I should speak from the perspective of general Buddhist doctrine (通仏教の教 *tsū bukkyō no kyō*). I would like to conduct the chaplaincy session making reference also to Chinese Confucian teachings and Western philosophical theories from time to time too. If I were to rephrase it, I would say that on the one hand I should rely on

⁸⁵ Murakami in KGKK (1892 vol. 7), 5-10.

the standard theories of all sects of Buddhism (仏教各種の普通説 *bukkyō kakushu no futsūsetsu*) and on the other upon various conventional theories of public morality (世間各種の道德説 *sekken kakushu no dōtoku setsu*).

What is the reason that I should conduct a chaplaincy session without relying on the doctrine of one sect and instead by relying on the standard theories of all sects of Buddhism? It is precisely because when I think of the people in prison listening to my speech, I am aware that their families and ancestors have their own traditions, and that due to their own customs, some will find Nichirenshū to be preferable, while others may esteem Jōdoshū, and yet others may think Zenshū to be most fine, or others may like Shinshū. Everyone will have their own preference for a sectarian doctrine. [...]

For this reason, I will not choose to present a sectarian teaching for the moment. I will rather lecture in detail about what might be called the essential framework for all of Buddhism (佛教通説の綱要 *bukkyō tsūzō no kōyō*), the principle of karma (因縁因果の道理 *innen inga no dōri*). I aim to do so in a way that will communicate with everyone impartially (無私公平 *mushi kōhei*). However, just because I have decided to take such a position does not mean that I absolutely cannot say anything about Shinshū's particular doctrine of the peaceful heart (安心 *anjin*). To the contrary, of course sometimes I will lecture about the peaceful heart. [...]

[Next I will speak about the Goals of chaplaincy.] All human beings spend their time either asleep or awake, standing or sitting, or moving about, or moving our lips and tongues to make speech, or simply thinking and discerning within our hearts. All of these are modes of action in thoughts, words, or deeds. Everything we do in the three modes of action (身口意の三業 *shin-ku-i no sangyō*) is either for the good or not for the good. [...] Human actions can be divided into the good and the evil. [...] [The goal of chaplaincy is to give rise to thoughts of repentance and returning to the good so that evil actions will be lessened and good actions increased.]

In preparing for chaplaincy, a chaplain should imagine the feeling of a mother raising a child (母親が子を育てる様な気になりて *hahaoya ga ko wo sodateru yō na ki ni narite*). [...] To raise a child takes both a father and a mother, but the roles of the father and the mother differ. The father is authoritative. He has the gravitas such that when the child does something bad, the father may chastise and scold him. That is the role of the father. However, the mother is compassionate (慈母 *jimo*). With a gentle expression and loving words, she turns to the naughty child who has been scolded by the father. The mother gives the child his favorite snack or offers her breast to comfort him. That is the role of the mother. [If we apply this metaphor to the prison, then] the warden and the guards play the role of the father [...] and the role of the chaplain is not the role of the father, but the role of the mother.

Murakami's lecture differs from the previous examples in that it is intended for chaplains and not for inmates. Murakami presents here three important guidelines for

prison chaplains. First, he notes that although chaplains are Buddhist priests with a sectarian affiliation, the role of the chaplain is not precisely the same as the role of the Buddhist priest. He claims that the key difference is that it is the responsibility of the chaplain not to teach sectarian doctrine, but rather to offer a combination of general Buddhist doctrine (通仏教の教 *tsū bukkyō no kyō*) and various conventional theories of public morality (世間各種の道德説 *sekken kakushu no dōtoku setsu*). The implication is that the content of a chaplaincy session conducted in a prison chapel cannot be identical to that of a dharma talk performed at a Buddhist temple. The rationale for this judgment is that prisoners themselves may belong to various Buddhist sects. We may note that Murakami does not consider that inmates may be followers of non-Buddhist religions. Rather, he assumes that the diversity among the inmate population will cover a range of Buddhist sects only.

There is also a political dimension to Murakami's invocation of a "teaching common to all Buddhism" (通仏教の教 *tsū bukkyō no kyō*). The notion of a common core to Buddhism is at the heart of the discourse of the chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*), but the idea is no modern invention. Murakami's claim for a shared teaching (通仏教 *tsū bukkyō*) can be traced to a distinction made between "shared teachings" (通教 *tsūgyō*) and "sectarian teachings" (別教 *bekkyō*) found already in the doctrinal system set forth by the founder of the Chinese Tendai school (天台) Zhiyi (智顛 538–597).⁸⁶ Virtually all Japanese Buddhist sects inherit the influence of Tendai thought, and the Shin sect is no

⁸⁶ On this distinction, see Ōshima (1978). On Zhiyi, see Swanson (1989).

exception.⁸⁷ At a time when Buddhist institutions felt threatened by encroaching Christian missions, withdrawal of state support, and anti-Buddhist sentiment, the invocation of a shared Buddhist teaching was an attempt to defend the dharma. Taken in a minimal sense, the claim was simply that the shared Buddhist teaching should rightfully be the basis for moral education in prisons. However, the implications of this assertion are far-reaching. The Shin advocates for Buddhist control of the chaplaincy were attempting to define the boundaries between public ethical duties and private religious commitments in such a way that the public ethic would incorporate elements of Buddhist doctrine. In this sense, the political vision undergirding Shin advocacy for chaplaincy was one of the unity of dharma and law.

Second, working within this Buddhist framework, Murakami asserts that the principle of karma (因縁因果の道理 *innen inga no dōri*) represents a foundational Buddhist doctrine shared by all sects. He argues that this doctrine should therefore be the doctrinal basis of prison chaplaincy. The doctrine of karma also recommends itself because it can be related specifically to the goals of prison chaplaincy. Murakami maintains that all human activity is accounted for by this doctrinal framework of three modes of action (身口意の三業 *shin-ku-i no sangyō*), and he adds that all actions are either good or evil. Thus, if the purpose of chaplaincy is to “admonish prisoners through lectures explaining the way of repentance and turning to the good (悔過遷善ノ道 *kaika senzen no michi*),”⁸⁸ then the doctrine of karma provides a skillful means for achieving this goal. He claims that reform is to be achieved by bringing inmates to a change of heart

⁸⁷ On the influence of Tendai thought on Japanese Buddhism, see Stone (1999).

⁸⁸ Kyōsei Kyōkai (1974), 799. Also cited in Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei (2006), 83.

(i.e., encouraging thoughts of repentance and returning to the good). So, the role of the chaplain is to lecture on the doctrine of karma in line with conventional morality, and the purpose of doing so is to bring about repentance and moral transformation.

Finally, Murakami turns to preparations for chaplaincy. Instead of offering practical advice about the workings of the justice system or information about the needs of inmates, Murakami suggests that his audience engage in an imaginative exercise of role-play. The prison is a household, the prison staff are father figures, the inmates are children, and the chaplains themselves are mother figures: “a chaplain should imagine the feeling of a mother raising a child (母親が子を育てる様な気になりて *hahaoya ga ko wo sodateru yō na ki ni narite*).” Based on the best available evidence, it appears that all chaplains were men until 1908.⁸⁹ Here, Murakami is instructing his audience to embody the virtue of compassion stereotypically associated with the image of the mother (慈母 *jimo*). In so doing, he is arguing that the role of the chaplain is not to punish prisoners, but to offer them succor. The preparation for fulfilling this role amounts to “being ready to play the part of the mother.”

The metaphor based on the division of gender roles clearly mirrors a tradition in which the sovereign is equated with the male while the dharma is aligned with the female.⁹⁰ This tradition can be seen from the very origins of Shin Buddhism. Even one of Shinran’s hymns venerates Prince Shōtoku as a combined mother-father figure: “like a

⁸⁹ This information is based on an index of chaplains’ names recorded in *KKHN* (1973 vol.1), 386. There were female *kyōkaishi* from 1908 (Meiji 41) in Tochigi. Ikeda Masa 池田マサ (d?) may have been the first. Tochigi prison was the only specialized pre-war women’s prison.

⁹⁰ For gender dynamics in Buddhism, see Ruch (2002). See Ives (1999) for another variation of the male/female dynamic being applied to the relationship between the state and the dharma.

father, never leaving us / And like a mother, always watching over us.”⁹¹ Murakami’s metaphor reveals a gendered component to the division between the two levels of truth (真俗二諦 *shinzoku nitai*) and the principle of their complementarity (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*) endorsed by the Honganji sect. Once again, we can see the place of the sect in society refracted through the image of the chaplain. The female role of the chaplain corresponds to the private realm of the heart and religious faith, while the male role of the prison warden and guards corresponds to the public realm and the law of the sovereign.⁹²

The Contours of *Kyōkairon*

Based on the summaries provided here, the contours of the discourse of the chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) are clear. The three factors defining this discourse are the heart (心 *kokoro*), karma (業 *gō*), and the principle of complementarity between the law of the sovereign and the dharma (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*). By teaching the doctrine of karma, the chaplain serves to bring the hearts of offenders (their private beliefs) into harmony with the governing ethos of the public realm as defined by the law of the sovereign. In this sense, the chaplain embodies the social mission of the Honganji sect as defined in its charter. Their work promotes the ideal of the complementarity of the law of the sovereign and the dharma.

We have seen that the discourse of the chaplaincy is deeply rooted in Shin doctrinal understandings of the nature of the human person. The journal presents a vision of “doctrinal remonstrance” (教誨 *kyōkai*) that is entirely consistent with the meaning of

⁹¹ See *Hymns in Praise of Shōtoku* Hymn 84 in Hirota (1997), 418.

⁹² Hardacre (2017) discusses the gendered aspect of the public/private binary. 61-64.

the term 教誨 *kyōke* in the *Larger Sutra*: chaplains admonish transgressors based on the dharma to bring them to right views (正見 *shōken*). Crime is understood as arising from disharmony produced by selfish desires (私欲 *shiyoku*), and these in turn are seen as flowing from ignorance or wrong views (邪見 *jaken*). It is the failure to understand karma as a universal order that leads to criminal conduct, arrest, and the suffering of prison. The punishments handed down by the state are then seen as manifestations of a metaphysical order of rewards and punishments. However, the prison experience can also be a redemptive form of suffering (逆縁 *gyakuen*) if it becomes the catalyst for an individual's awakening to right views (正見 *shōken*). The attainment of right views is understood as the basis for change of heart (改心 *kaishin*), which in turn is the foundation for correctional reform.

The whole process of crime, arrest, penal labor, and release is compared to a cycle of samsara: death as a human, punitive rebirth as an animal, followed by the return to the human state. Shimaji conveys this thought concisely with the image of a “human face with the heart of a beast” (人面獸心 *jinmen jūshin*). In this schema, this prison chaplain may be seen to correspond to the bodhisattva figure who helps sentient beings to escape from the suffering of samsara.⁹³

In the last section of this chapter, we will turn to the political dimension of Shin advocacy for prison chaplaincy. It is clear that the discourse of the chaplaincy is focused on the responsibilities that subjects owe to the public authority. Many of the sermons analyzed above can be read as answers to these questions: what are the duties of subjects,

⁹³ There are instances in the literature where the chaplain is explicitly compared to the bodhisattva. See *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 196-7.

and why do they owe those duties to the state? By framing their answers in the language of karma and *kokoro*, prison chaplains interpret the duties of subjects from the vantage point of their own sectarian frameworks and political concerns. Shin chaplains shared the political goal of working towards an ideal unity of the dharma and the law of the sovereign as expressed in the Honganji sect charter's affirmation of the complementarity of two levels of law. Although Shin Buddhist prison chaplains sought to structure the realm of private beliefs to bring it into accord with the demands of the public realm, in so doing they also implicated core components of Buddhist ethical teaching (particularly the law of karma) within the realm of public commitments. In other words, for Shin Buddhist prison chaplains, which Buddhist sect a person prefers could be a matter of private belief, but the core doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism, including the law of cause and effect, were not regarded as private matters of belief. Karma was held to be a universal ethical standard to which all Japanese (even all sentient beings!) must adhere. The claim that there are core doctrines of Buddhism shared by all sects amounts to a claim that some trans-sectarian Buddhist doctrines should be rightfully part of the public realm. The law of karma, for example, was seen to undergird the law of the state. The political import is that all Japanese subjects rightfully owe allegiance to both the law of the sovereign and the trans-sectarian principles of the dharma regardless of which Buddhist sect they privately favor. Shin advocacy for prison chaplaincy was thus deeply connected to advancing the position of the sect in relation to the state. In the last section, we will see how this advocacy culminated in a virtual monopoly over the prison chaplaincy that lasted until 1945.

Christians in the Prison Service

By the 1890s, following the passage of the Meiji Constitution, the social status of Christianity had changed dramatically compared with the period of persecution that saw the Urakami Christians incarcerated in the wake of the Restoration (1868-1872.) Due to pressure from foreign powers, Christian sects gained an increasing degree of legal and public recognition. In 1873, the ban on Christianity was quietly lifted, and the practice of Christianity was officially protected by the 1889 constitution.⁹⁴ Throughout the 1890s, though Christianity was still viewed with suspicion, the prestige of the newcomer religion was enhanced through its connection with Western culture, through the establishment of Christian educational institutions,⁹⁵ and through the efforts of Christian social welfare activists drawn from the ranks of converted Japanese Protestants. Japanese Protestants were particularly active in proselytization efforts in Japan's northern territory, Hokkaido.⁹⁶ Four Japanese Protestants were influential in the move to reform the brutal frontier prisons: Arima Shirōsuke (有馬四郎助 1864-1934), Tomeoka Kōsuke (留岡幸助 1864-1934), Ōinoue Terusaki (大井上輝前 1848-1912), and Hara Taneaki (原胤昭 1853-1942).⁹⁷ Each of these figures is the subject of a major biography in Japanese.

⁹⁴ See Maxey (2014) for details on this process.

⁹⁵ The Dōshisha English School (同志社英学校 *Dōshisha Eigakkō*, later Dōshisha University 同志社大学 *Dōshisha Daigaku*) is representative of this general trend. It was founded in 1875 by the first Japanese Graduate of Amherst College, Nijima Jō (新島襄 1843-1890), a Protestant minister. Nijima planned for the school to become a university as early as 1882, but he died before realizing this goal. It was not until 1912 that Dōshisha became a University. See the entry for *Dōshisha Daigaku* in *NKRJ* (1988), 933.

⁹⁶ On Christianity in Hokkaido, see Fukushima (1982) and Murota (2012).

⁹⁷ On Arima Shirōsuke, see Miyoshi (1967). On Hara Taneaki, see Kataoka (2011) and Ōta (1989). On Ōinoue Terusaki, see Narita (2009). On Tomeoka Kōsuke, see Murota (2012).

However, for our present purposes, the relationship between Arima and Tomeoka is particularly significant for understanding the history of the prison chaplaincy.

In the Meiji period, prisoners from various places in Japan were exiled to Hokkaido to perform penal labor on the frontier by breaking down the brush and building roads.⁹⁸ Arima Shirōsuke served in the Hokkaido prison service from 1886, and he was appointed as the first warden of the newly opened Abashiri Prison (網走分監 *Abashiri Bunkan*) in the far reaches of the frontier in 1891.⁹⁹ He immediately received orders that he was to deploy prisoners to build a road between the settlement of Asahikawa and the remote Abashiri.¹⁰⁰ However, work conditions were inhumane, and the prison itself was unsanitary to the point of being unfit for habitation. Within the year, out of a total prison population of between eight hundred and one thousand men, some one hundred and fifty-six died.¹⁰¹ Arima was horrified and dedicated himself to improving prison hygiene and labor conditions so as to prevent more deaths.

By this time, the government had started to appoint prison chaplains to all prison facilities (although their wages were not yet the responsibility of the central government.) It so happened that a handful of Protestant missionaries (several of them graduates of the Dōshisha school) were on rotating assignments through the Hokkaido frontier prisons.¹⁰² At this time, there were not many Christians in the prison service. The only example I have seen of a Christian prison chaplain stationed anywhere outside Hokkaido is the case

⁹⁸ See *NKGS* (1974), 527-532.

⁹⁹ Miyoshi (1967), 70. See also Miyoshi's chronology: 270-1.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 72.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 73.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 76-86.

of Hara Taneaki, who preached to inmates in Kobe as early as 1884—before being transferred to Hokkaido in 1888.¹⁰³ Along with Hara, Tomeoka Kōsuke was also stationed in Hokkaido. By all accounts, these men were committed to prison reform. Beginning in 1892, Tomeoka and Hara began to publish a journal entitled *Prison Chaplaincy Series* (教誨叢書 *Kyōkai Sōsho*, titled *Compassion* 同情 *dōjō* until issue five) designed to promote the education and reform of inmates.¹⁰⁴

Though he was not a Christian himself, Arima found the efforts of Hara and Taneaki to be extremely admirable, and this admiration attracted him to Christianity. Over several years of working together, he became intimate friends with Tomeoka. Moreover, Arima's immediate superior in the prison service Ōinoue Terusaki was also a Christian. These factors contributed to Arima's decision to begin studying the Bible while serving as warden at Abashiri.¹⁰⁵ After nine years in Hokkaido, Arima was promoted to warden of Saitama Prison (埼玉監獄 *Saitama Kangoku*) in 1895.¹⁰⁶ He remained in contact with Tomeoka over the years, and in May of 1898 he asked Tomeoka to baptize him at Reinanzaka Church (霊南坂教会 *Reinanzaka Kyōkai*) in Tokyo.¹⁰⁷ One month later, Arima received word that he had been promoted yet again. From September he was to become warden of Sugamo Prison, Japan's flagship penal institution. He immediately invited his friend Tomeoka to serve as prison chaplain.

¹⁰³ Kataoka (2011), 87-121.

¹⁰⁴ Murota (2012), 15-45. The journal ran until 1895. Murota's is the most detailed study of this journal.

¹⁰⁵ Miyoshi (1967), 87-110.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 271.

¹⁰⁷ Miyoshi (1967), 108-9.

The Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident

When Arima was appointed warden of Sugamo Prison, there were four Ōtani-ha prison chaplains on the staff: Tōgō Ryōchō (藤郷了澄 d?) Mano Senmon (間野闡門 d?) Nakazawa Ryōyū (中澤亮雄 d?) and Miyama Genju (三山元樹 d?).¹⁰⁸ On the first Sunday of September in 1898, Arima paid a visit to the ranking Ōtani sect official Ōgusa Keijitsu (大草恵實 d?) at the Asakusa Honganji Temple (淺草本願寺). He informed Ōgusa that he would be changing the structure of prison chaplaincy to emphasize moral instruction (道德教誨 *dōtoku kyōkai*) rather than religious chaplaincy (宗教教誨 *shūkyō kyōkai*).¹⁰⁹ To that end, he indicated that he would retain only one Buddhist chaplain, and asked for the sect to choose either Tōgō or Mano to serve as their representative.¹¹⁰ Arima added that, in order to respect the constitutional requirement for religious freedom, one Christian chaplain would also be added to the staff. The next day, Arima met with the chaplains and informed them that only one of them would be retained, and that he had already informed their superior Ōgusa of his decision.¹¹¹ The Shin chaplains were stunned.

The chaplains immediately went to confer with Ōgusa. They decided that all four of them would resign the very next day, and that they would raise the issue with the

¹⁰⁸ Andō (1898), 1.

¹⁰⁹ This same year, Tomeoka wrote articles in the Prison Journal (監獄雜誌 *Kangoku Zasshi*) advocating for general moral instruction (道德 *dōtoku*) over religious remonstrance (宗教教誨 *shūkyō kyōkai*). See Tomeoka (1898).

¹¹⁰ Arima repeated this request in a letter dated September 5th 1898. See Andō (1898), 2.

¹¹¹ *ibid.* 4-6.

sect.¹¹² The following day, the four chaplains each headed to separate workshops within the prison to perform a dramatic farewell before the assembled inmates.¹¹³ Tōgō announced the departure of the Buddhist chaplains by declaring that the donated Buddha images (御本尊 *gohonzon*) installed in both the north and the south prison chapels would be leaving with the Buddhist priests. He closed by reminding the inmates “not to forget their debts (御恩 *go'ōn*) to the sovereign, to their parents, and to the Buddha.”¹¹⁴ Mano addressed another crowd and declared that he felt like a parent forced to abandon a sickly child.¹¹⁵ Nakazawa spoke to his audience about the virtues of filial piety and bid farewell by quoting Confucius.¹¹⁶ Miyama was the most blunt: “just because the new chaplain is a Christian [...] you must not must not go breaking the rules!”¹¹⁷ After announcing their departure to the inmates, the four chaplains informed the warden of their resignation. They wrote to the sect to ask for advice about how to proceed.¹¹⁸

The Ōtani sect sent a reply declaring that Arima himself must be a Christian like his new appointee Tomeoka. (In fact, Arima had been baptised not six months before.) The import of the reply was that Arima was using his public station to advance his own private interest (私心 *shishin*).¹¹⁹ In retaliation, the sect mobilized its lobbyist Ishikawa

¹¹² Ibid. 6

¹¹³ Transcripts are available in *ibid.* 6-13.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 8.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 9.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 13.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 13. 耶蘇教だからと云て[...]獄則を犯すような事は[...]自分の為にもならず *Yasokyō dakara to iite [...] gokusoku wo okasu yō na koto ha [...] jibun no tame ni mo narazu...*

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, 15-17.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, 17.

Shundai (石川舜台 1842-1931) to reach out to politicians and the media. Ishikawa first wrote to Home Minister (内務大臣 *naimu daijin*) Itagaki Daisuke (板垣退助 1837-1919) in a letter dated to September 19th 1898.¹²⁰ He complained that the introduction of Christianity into the prison system would “confuse relations between the public and the private” (公私を混同せし *kōshi wo kondō seshi*).¹²¹ The nature of Ishikawa’s complaint must be understood in relation to the sect’s charter. Buddhism was rightfully in charge of the private realm because Buddhism was a force for harmony. Christianity was not harmonious, but disruptive. In this sense, Arima’s argument that he was promoting ethical instruction (i.e. his assertion that chaplaincy should deal in the a public ethic and not the private realm of religious instruction) was interpreted as a lie. Arima and Tomeoka Kōsuke were seen as Christian agents attempting to infiltrate and convert the prison system. Ishikawa claimed that if Christianity was able to infiltrate the public office of the prison chaplaincy, then in future it may be able to extend its reach into the government and thereby risk creating a conflict between religion and state.

Ishikawa followed this letter with two open letters to Prime Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu (大隈 重信 1838-1922), the aristocracy, public intellectuals, and the newspapers.¹²² In these letters, Ishikawa pointed to the example of the Christian Uchimura Kanzō (内村 鑑三 1861-1930) refusing to bow to the Imperial Rescript on

¹²⁰ Ibid., 18-19.

¹²¹ Ibid., 19.

¹²² Ibid., 27-31.

Education in 1891 as evidence of the subversive nature of Christianity.¹²³ The Home Minister grew so frustrated with Ishikawa that he wrote to the chief abbot of the Ōtani sect to insist that Ishikawa be disciplined.¹²⁴ However, it was too late—the Buddhist press (明教新誌 *Meikyō Shinshi*, 政教時報 *Seikyō Jihō*) picked up the story, and the issue became a political cause.¹²⁵

Two related political issues were read into the Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident: immigration (内地雜居 *naichi zakkyō*) and religious freedom.¹²⁶ The Ōtani sect also took umbrage to Arima's ouster of their chaplains not least because they had been investing approximately thirty thousand yen per annum in maintaining the prison chaplaincy while waiting for the state to take full responsibility for chaplain's salaries.¹²⁷ However, already in 1897 the Japanese government was negotiating treaties with foreign powers in which the issue of foreign residency was under discussion.¹²⁸ This issue impacted the prison system because prisons would also need to be equipped to house foreign inmates, who, presumably, would be Christians. In this way, two contentious political debates were reflected by the Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident.

In 1901, the debate reached the Diet. A member of the lower house Kōmuchi Tomotsune (神鞭知常 1848-1905) proposed a bill to resolve the prison chaplaincy

¹²³ Ibid., 27-31.

¹²⁴ See Etsura (2013), 45.

¹²⁵ On the role of the press, see See Etsura (2013) and Yoshida (1966).

¹²⁶ *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 139.

¹²⁷ Ibid. There is no citation given to indicate the source for this estimate.

¹²⁸ See the entry for *naichi zakkyō mondai* (内地雜居問題) in *KSDJ* available via the *Japan Knowledge Database* (www.japanknowledge.com) accessed February 14th, 2017.

incident in favor of Honganji (監獄教誨に関する建議案 *Kangoku Kyōkia ni kan suru Kengi'an*).¹²⁹ The debate was fierce, but the Shin temples were important political backers for some members of the Liberal Party (自由党 *Jiyūtō*), and more than twenty members of that party threatened to drop out of the party if the government would not see fit to support the Buddhists.¹³⁰ A motion was made to send the bill to a sub-committee for further discussion, but this motion failed by one hundred and four votes against to only eighty-nine votes in favor. The refusal to send the bill to committee meant that the Diet had to decide the issue then and there. The atmosphere on the floor descended into a shouting match before a final vote was taken. Out of one hundred and ninety-three in attendance, one hundred and two voted in favor of Kōmuchi's proposal and ninety-one voted against. The Shin Buddhists won control of the prison chaplaincy.¹³¹

In the political realignment that followed, both Home Minister Itagaki and Prime Minister Ōkuma were forced to resign, and Yamagata Aritomo (山県有朋 1838-1922) formed his second cabinet. The incoming Home Minister Saigō Tsugumichi (西郷従道 1843-1902) ordered warden Arima to be transferred from Sugamo prison to Ichigaya prison, where he would take over as warden. The following year, Tomeoka Kōsuke was appointed as a professor at the newly opened Police and Prison Academy (警察監獄学校 *Keisatsu Kangoku Gakkō*), and he too left Sugamo Prison.¹³² With the departure of Tomeoka, Christian prison chaplaincy came to end and did not resume until the postwar

¹²⁹ Miyoshi (1967) 118-9. The record of the debate is recorded in the 衆議院議事速記明治三十四年第十二号.

¹³⁰ Ibid. 119.

¹³¹ Ibid. 119-120.

¹³² Ibid. 120.

period. Finally, in 1903, prison chaplains—virtually all of whom were now Shin priests—were officially appointed as civil servants, and the central government took responsibility for their wages.¹³³ Through the Sugamo Prison Incident, the Shin model of prison chaplaincy became the universal standard for prison chaplaincy in Japan.

Conclusions

The discourse of the chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) was formalized in relation to Shin doctrine of complementarity between the dharma and the law of the sovereign. According to this line of thinking, the social role of the sect and that of the chaplain were conceived in relation to the work of harmonizing the private realm of beliefs, desires, and aspirations with the requirements of public duties. In the first chapter of this dissertation, I presented the fundamental components of the unique doctrinal complex of the chaplaincy: karma (業 *gō*), *kokoro* (心, lit. “heart”), and *kyōkai* (教誨 lit. “doctrinal remonstration”). The essential character of this discourse is that doctrinal remonstration serves as a means to rectify the hearts of offenders so that they are harmonized with the law of karma, which is understood as being in tune with the laws of the state. This unique genre of doctrine was formalized in relation to the politics of the Shin sects during the 1890s.

I have argued here that the Shin Buddhists’ position vis-a-vis prison chaplaincy is fundamentally an attitude about where to draw the lines between public obligations and private religious commitments. In the records of the Shin prison chaplaincy, the position is that some degree of core Buddhist doctrine ought to be incorporated into the public

¹³³ See the chronology in *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (2006), 85.

ethic promoted by the Japanese nation state. Though some components of sectarian doctrine may be regarded as private matters of belief, there are core teachings of Buddhism (including the doctrine of karma) that deserve public recognition because they are universally valid and seen to undergird the public ethic. The blending of public, ethical duties and private, religious commitments is ultimately reflected in the chaplains' understandings of and claims upon the hearts (心 *kokoro*) of incarcerated people. By the logic of the Shin chaplaincy, being committed privately (in one's heart) to the Buddhist religion contributes to an individual's upright conduct and fulfillment of the duties required of subjects. Doctrinal remonstrance (教誨 *kyōkai*) represents a means of bringing the hearts of offenders into harmony with religious commitments and the public ethic. The promotion of doctrinal remonstrance (prison chaplaincy) as a social responsibility of the Buddhist sects accomplishes two things. On the one hand, it promotes the idea that Buddhism effectively contributes to the maintenance of the social order and the reform of offenders. On the other hand, the Shin temples stake a claim on the correctional system and promote the public legitimacy of the sect's religious mission by wedding it to the state.

The Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident galvanized Shin Buddhist thinking about the role of temples as defenders of society. The Ōtani sect, led by Ishikawa Shundai, regarded the encroachment of Christians into the prison service as a threat. Ishikawa argued that Buddhist sects were rightfully in control of the private realm, and that Christians could not be entrusted with this task. The ensuing debate culminated in the government's decision to hand the Shin sects a virtual monopoly over the prison chaplaincy that lasted until the end of the war. In later chapters, we will see that all

subsequent varieties of Japanese prison chaplaincy (including the postwar prison chaplaincies of a number of non-Buddhist sects) have been cut from the mold built by the Shin Buddhists in the 1890s.

Chapter 5

Prison Chaplaincy for the Postwar Period:

Universalizing *Kyōkai*

Introduction

Within its first few months, the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952) effectively terminated the civil service prison chaplaincy by imposing a strict separation of religion from state. Under the postwar constitution of 1947, a single sect could no longer legally maintain a monopoly over prison chaplaincy. However, by 1945, the correctional system had been heavily reliant on the labor of Shin priests for more than half a century, and it was no simple matter to remove the Buddhists from the prisons. Buddhist ideas and rituals had become deeply ingrained into the daily operations of the carceral system, and chaplains were responsible for overseeing one of the central missions of the prisons: the moral education of inmates.

This chapter explores how prison chaplaincy transformed under the Occupation and the 1947 Constitution. In order for some form of chaplaincy to be retained for the postwar period, religious organizations and the government's central Corrections Office (刑政局 *keiseikyoku* before 1953, 矯正局 *kyōseikyoku* after) cooperated to establish chaplains' unions (教誨師連盟 *kyōkaishi renmei*) as public interest corporations (財団法人 *zaidan hōjin*) to serve as bridges between religions and the state. The prison chaplaincy survived the separation of religion from state by transforming from a branch of the civil service into an unpaid labor force of volunteers. This development raises several questions. Why was prison chaplaincy continued rather than abolished? What did

the Corrections Office hope to gain by extending prison chaplaincy, and why did religious organizations want to participate in the project?

In this chapter, I provide a historical account of the abolition of the civil service prison chaplaincy and outline the history of the prison chaplaincy during the American Occupation of Japan. I then describe the origins of the chaplains' unions and present a structural overview of the role of these unions in the correctional system under the current constitution. I argue that the chaplains' unions developed to universalize and secularize the Jōdo Shinshū model of prison chaplaincy as part of a broader effort to redefine the social role for religion in the postwar period. I maintain that the idea undergirding postwar prison chaplaincy is a notion of human rights (人權 *jinken*) that includes religion as an irreducible dimension of the human being. According to this logic, the state has a vested interest in protecting and nurturing the religious sensibilities of its people because religion, broadly construed, benefits society. Religion is thus understood to play a natural part in the work of correctional reform.

By universalization, I am referring to the fact that a great variety of religious movements founded chaplains' unions so as to participate in prison chaplaincy activities. A range of Buddhist groups including Shingon, Nichiren, and Zen sects and non-Buddhist religious groups such as Jinja Honchō, Tenrikyō, Konkōkyō, and Christian churches developed prison chaplaincies of their own. All of these prison chaplaincies were adapted from the inherited Jōdo Shinshū model of “doctrinal remonstrance” (教誨 *kyōkai*). The particularities of their theologies are explored in greater detail in the next chapter, so we will focus first on the historical development of these groups by examining their common origins.

The development of the chaplains' unions reflects the complexities of Japanese secularization. The postwar state divided prison chaplaincy into two types: religious chaplaincy (宗教教誨 *shūkyō kyōkai*) and general chaplaincy (一般教誨 *ippan kyōkai*). General chaplaincy is officially defined as non-religious (hence, a secularized version of prison chaplaincy). However, the same religionists (chaplains dispatched by the chaplains' unions) are often responsible for conducting these non-religious, general chaplaincy sessions. The rationale for and the content of these sessions is often informed by religious doctrines, and so religious influences are both concealed and perpetuated under the secular label.

Chaplains unions have been the drivers of the universalization and secularization of the Jōdo Shinshū model of prison chaplaincy, and the religionists managing these unions see their work as a public benefit. The chapter takes the following questions as a starting point: what do chaplains' unions do? When were they formed? Who belongs to them? Why do they exist? What is the legal framework governing these groups? Finally, how are the unions situated in relation to both the state (the correctional system) and religious organizations?

Separating Religion from State and the Guarantee of Religious Freedom

The continued existence of chaplains' unions in contemporary Japan reflects some of the complexities inherent in the arrangement of religion-state relations in the postwar period. The Postwar Constitution (日本国憲法 *Nihonkoku Kenpō*) of 1947 lays the foundation for Japan's liberal democracy. It sets out a strict requirement for separation of

religion from state (政教分離 *seikyō bunri*) and guarantees religious freedom (信教の自由 *shinkyō no jiyū*) for all Japanese citizens.

Article 20. Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority. No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice. The state and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.

Article 89. No public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority.¹

This constitution was produced under the guidance of the American Occupation.²

However, even prior to the implementation of the constitution in 1947, Occupation policy emphasized the necessity of separating religion from state and establishing freedom of religion. In order to understand the origins of the chaplains' unions, it is necessary to see their development against the backdrop of the Occupation religions policy that culminated in the 1947 constitution.

The Occupation's efforts to limit the state's control over religion were generally driven by the belief that the military regime had legitimized itself by compelling all Japanese subjects to participate in a nationalist cult clothed in the symbols of State Shinto (国家神道 *Kokka Shintō*).³ Japanese law recognized a distinction between Sectarian Shinto (教派神道 *Kyōha Shintō*), which consisted of thirteen sects classified as Shinto-

¹ The full text of the Japanese Constitution is available through the official website of the prime minister and his cabinet. http://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html (accessed March 1, 2017).

² For an overview of the role of GHQ in writing the constitution, see Dower (1999), 346-374.

³ See Garon (1997) 207-8 for a concise summary of the American view of Shinto.

based religious organizations,⁴ and Shrine Shinto (神社神道 *jinja shintō*), which was officially a non-religious, civic institution. The Occupation regarded the denial of Shrine Shinto's religious status as a subterfuge, and held its status as the official state religion (State Shinto) to be obvious.⁵ Thus, the separation of religion from state and the guarantee of religious freedom appeared first as the disestablishment of State Shinto. The abolition of State Shinto impacted the whole spectrum of Japanese religions including the Shin Buddhist prison chaplaincy. In the following section, I provide an overview of the wartime prison chaplaincy and then explain how Occupation policy targeting Shinto also impacted the Buddhist chaplains.

The Prison Chaplaincy at the End of the War

From the turn of the century until 1947, virtually all prison chaplains were Shin priests affiliated with East or West Honganji who had been appointed to the civil service (官制 *kansei*).⁶ When the prison chaplaincy became part of the civil service in 1903, the official number of chaplains in the home islands was set at 180.⁷ Like certain elements of the Shrine Shinto priesthood,⁸ Shin Buddhist prison chaplains were paid salaries funded through the state coffers.

⁴ On the development of Sectarian Shinto, see Inoue (1991).

⁵ On the Occupation's view of Shinto, see Woodard (1972), 54-81.

⁶ *KKHN* (1974 vol.1), 77. There were several exceptions. Mie Prison employed someone from the Takada-ha sect of Shin Buddhism. Chiba prison employed chaplains from a variety of Buddhist sects: Shingon, Jōdo, Sōtō, Nichiren, and Ōtani. See *ibid*.

⁷ *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* (2006), 84-5. This number gradually increased, first to 191 in 1935 and then to 230 in 1940. See *SSKS* (1986), 42-3 and 45.

⁸ On the financing of Shrine Shinto, see Murakami (1970), 173-9.

Also like Shrine Priests, prison chaplains played an important role in promoting the ideology of the state. In addition to their work supporting the moral and spiritual education of the general inmate population, beginning in the Taishō period (1912-1926), prewar and wartime chaplains became increasingly focused on the forced conversion (轉向 *tenkō*) of Marxists, leftists, and members of new religions deemed ideological enemies of the state or “thought criminals” (思想犯 *shisōhan*).⁹ Like other elements of the religious world, Buddhist prison chaplains were mobilized to support the war effort.¹⁰

The role of the wartime prison chaplaincy as ideological monitors and re-education instructors is reflected in their vocational journal *Chaplaincy and Probation* (教誨と保護 *Kyōkai to Hogo*) and in their conference proceedings. One of the final chaplains’ conferences organized before the end of the war was held on November 7th of 1943 at Tsukiji Honganji in Tokyo, and the first topic of discussion was the ideals of the prison chaplaincy (教誨理念 *kyōkai rinen*). These were listed as “Buddhist selflessness (仏教の無我 *bukkyō no muga*)” and “turning away from private interests towards the public good (背私向公 *haishi kōkō*).”¹¹ In both cases, the references to selflessness invoke the Shin tradition of prioritizing the duties of public station over private interests. (We saw in the previous chapter that this ethic was made the centerpiece of the sectarian

⁹ The official history of chaplains and *tenkō* is recorded here: *Kyōkai Hyakunen jō* (1974), 165-188, and here: *Kyōkai Hyakunen ge* (1974), 299-337. The most detailed study of the role of chaplains in forced conversion (轉向 *tenkō*) campaigns is Tonohira (1977). Tonohira’s more recent study of Miki Kiyoshi (三木清) in Yamazaki (1996) is not directly focused on chaplaincy, but it provides an important perspective on the theology of the Shin sects during the war.

¹⁰ On the mobilization of religious resources in support of war efforts, see Akazawa (1985), Heisig and Maraldo (1995), Ives (1999), Nagaoka (2015), Ogawara (2010) and (2014), and Victoria (2006).

¹¹ The phrase 背私向公 *haishi kōkō* is drawn from the Shōtoku constitution (discussed in the previous chapter).

charter in the Meiji period). At this conference and in their journals, chaplains took up such themes as methods of ensuring the authenticity of a prisoner's ideological conversion to the imperialist ideology.¹² Chaplains oversaw prison re-education programs throughout the Shōwa period.

As the Japanese government became increasingly focused on the imposition of ideological purity through the Taishō and Shōwa periods, the prison chaplaincy changed to reflect the state's priorities. The legal concept of "thought crime (思想犯 *shisōhan*)" developed with the passage of the notorious Peace Preservation Law of 1925 (治安維持法 *chian iji hō*). This act criminalized any activity deemed a threat to the national political structure (国体 *kokutai*).¹³ The management of thought crimes was further refined through the passage of the Thought Crime Protection and Surveillance Law (思想犯保護観察法 *shisōhan hogo kansatsu hō*) of 1936.¹⁴ Under this legislation, prison chaplains played a central role in the forced conversion of thought-criminals and also in the ideological monitoring of these persons after their release from prison.¹⁵ Buddhist temples had once monitored the population to prevent the spread of Christianity under the temple registration system (寺請制度 *terauke seido*) of the Edo period. Under the Thought Crime Protection and Surveillance Law, the responsibilities of Jōdo Shinshū

¹² See, for example, the September of 1942 edition of the vocational journal *Kyōkai to Hogo* (*KKHG* 1942). The leading article is "The Purification of Ideological Conversion" (転向とその純化 *Tenkō to Sono Junka*). An index of the wartime journals is included in Appendix B.

¹³ See the entry for *chian iji hō* in the *Kokushi Daijiten* available online through the *Japan Knowledge Database* at www.japanknowledge.com (accessed March 5, 2017). See also Garon (1997), Mitchell (1976), and Steinhoff (1991).

¹⁴ See *ibid.*

¹⁵ On the role of chaplains in the management of thought crimes, see *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 165-189. See also Tonohira (1977).

prison chaplains were extended beyond prison walls, and they effectively resumed a similar role of ideological surveillance.¹⁶ Throughout the war, Jōdo Shinshū priests serving in the civil service as prison chaplains were a key ideological support of the imperialist regime.

Table 5.1 Arrests of Thought Criminals under the Peace Preservation Law.

Year	Leftists (左翼)	Independent (独立)	Religious Groups (宗教)	Total
1928 Shōwa 3	3,426	0	0	3,426
1929 Shōwa 4	4,942	0	0	4,942
1930 Shōwa 5	6,124	0	0	6,124
1931 Shōwa 6	10,422	0	0	10,422
1932 Shōwa 7	13,938	0	0	13,938
1933 Shōwa 8	14,623	0	0	14,623
1934 Shōwa 9	3,994	0	0	3,994
1935 Shōwa 10	1,718	0	67	1,785
1936 Shōwa 11	1,207	0	860	2,067
1937 Shōwa 12	1,292	7	13	1,313(sic)
1938 Shōwa 13	789	0	193	982
1939 Shōwa 14	389	8	325	722
1940 Shōwa 15	713	71	33	817
1941 Shōwa 16	849	256	107	1,212
1942 Shōwa 17	332	203	163	698
1943 Shōwa 18	87	53	19	159

Source: This chart is based on a government document dated April 30th, 1943. The original is reproduced in Okudaira (1973), 646.

¹⁶ See the wartime vocational journal *Prison Chaplaincy and Probation* (教誨と保護 *Kyōkai to Hogo*) 1939-1943. Hereafter abbreviated as KKHG.

Table 5.2: Breakdown of Major Incidents and Arrests of Religionists

Group Name	Leader	Crime	Arresting Authority	Date of First Arrest	Number Arrested
Kōdō Ōmoto	Deguchi Ōnisaburo	Peace Pres. Law violation; Lèse-majesté; etc.	Tokyo and 34 other precincts	2/11/1935	940
Amatsukyō	Takeuchi Kiyomaro	Disrespect to Shrines and Words of the Kami ¹⁷	Mito	2/13/1936	12
Shinsei Ryūjinkai	Yanō Yūtarō	Lèse-majesté	Tokyo; Kobe	6/10/1936	8
Fusōkyō / Hito no Michi	Miki Tokuharu	Lèse-majesté, etc.	Osaka	9/21/1936	8
Tenri Honmichi	Ōnishi Aijirō	Peace Pres. Law violation; Lèse-majesté	Osaka and 10 other precincts	2/21/1938	380
Nekabu Tenrikyō	Yamada Umejirō	Peace Pres. Law violation	Tokyo; Nagano; Nagoya	2/21/1938	14
Sanri Sanpuku Moto	Ishikawa Komakichi	Peace Pres. Law violation	Takamatsu; Sendai	2/21/1938	18
Tenri Sanrin Kō	Katsu Hisano	Peace Pres. Law violation; Lèse-majesté	Osaka	6/1/1939	13
Tōdaisha (Jehovah's Witnesses)	Akaishi Junji	Peace Pres. Law violation; Lèse-majesté	Tokyo and 13 other precincts	6/21/1939	116

Source: This chart breaks down suppression of religious groups for violations of the Peace Preservation Law and Lèse-majesté offences. It is based on a government document produced on April 30th, 1943. There are some discrepancies between this chart and the one above, but I have reproduced each as is. This chart is reproduced in Okudaira (1973), 652.

Prison Chaplains in Colonial Korea

During the height of Japan's imperial expansion in the 1930s and 1940s, prison chaplains were dispatched throughout the Japanese Empire.¹⁸ Although this history is largely forgotten, vocational journals from the era detail their work with prisoners in

¹⁷ 神宮並神詞不敬

¹⁸ See *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 299-337 for a discussion of Japanese chaplains in the Korean peninsula. See also Nagata (1995) for a discussion of the role of Japanese prison chaplains in the forced conversion (転向 *tenkō*) of Korean Marxists.

Taiwan, Manchuria, and Korea.¹⁹ In 1937, for example, there were sixty-two prison chaplains in the twenty-eight correctional facilities in Occupied Korea. This compares with twenty-three instructors (教師 *kyōshi*), thirteen pharmacists, and approximately 2,100 guards (seventy-one of whom were female).²⁰ By the time Japan lost the war, more than half of the chaplains stationed in Korea had already been conscripted into military service. However, on August 15th of 1945, when Emperor Hirohito declaration Japan's unconditional surrender (玉音放送 *gyoku on hōsō*) and acceptance of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, there were approximately twenty chaplains who listened to the broadcast from their posts in Korean colonial prisons.²¹ In the aftermath of the war, some of these chaplains became prisoners themselves, while others managed to board ships back to Japan before being detained. In many instances, before they fled, the chaplains tried to retrieve the Buddha images from the prison chapels that had been erected throughout Korean colonial prisons. Some of these Buddha images were eventually passed to Korean Buddhist temples,²² while some others were seized by allied forces.²³

¹⁹ See the journal *KKHG*. The 1940 editions include a running series of articles about Manchuria.

²⁰ *Chōsen Sōtoku-fū Tōkei Nenpō* (1939), 435. This record is available online at <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1452398> (accessed March 1, 2017).

²¹ *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 340.

²² *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 354.

²³ *KKHN* (1974 vol. 2), 340.

The Occupation and the Prisons

Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP)²⁴ General Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964) arrived at Atsugi Airforce Base on August 30th, 1945, marking the beginning of the Occupation period (占領時代 *senryo jidai*).²⁵ On September 14th, Occupation forces arrested the official in charge of the Japanese prison system, the Minister of Law (司法代人 *shihō daijin*) Iwamura Michiyo (岩村通世 1883-1965), on suspicion of war crimes.²⁶ Subsequently, SCAP issued SCAPIN 93 (CIE) on the 4th of October 1945: “Removal of Restrictions on Political, Civil and Religious Liberties.” This and a subsequent order issued on October 15th initiated the release of political prisoners, pacifists, Marxists, and religionists who had been incarcerated as thought criminals under the notorious Peace Preservation Law (治安維持法 *chian iji hō*). Section 1.c of SCAPIN 93 calls for the release of those deemed thought criminals based on their religious or political beliefs: “Release immediately all persons now detained, imprisoned, under “protection and surveillance,” or restriction of freedom.”²⁷

On October the 10th, the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Occupation government declared that the Japanese had twenty-four hours to hand over Sugamo Prison, the nation’s flagship penal institution.²⁸ The following day, the U.S. Eighth Army seized the prison. As arrests continued over the following weeks, the Occupation began

²⁴ The acronym SCAP was used to refer to both MacArthur and his office.

²⁵ See MacArthur’s own account of his role in the Occupation in his autobiography. MacArthur (1964), 269-324.

²⁶ *SSKS* (1986), 48. Iwamura was released without being prosecuted in 1948.

²⁷ Cited in Woodard (1972), 291-2.

²⁸ *SSKS* (1986), 48.

to fill the cells of Sugamo with suspected war criminals.²⁹ The “Confidential SUGAMO After-Action Report” of 1948 compiled by the 10th Information and Historical Service of the U.S. Eighth Army reveals that the Occupation Authorities were ready to borrow the solemnity of Sugamo Prison’s Buddhist chapel (教誨堂 *kyōkaidō*) for their own purposes. In his history of Sugamo Prison, military historian John G. Roos cites this report as his preface:

On the Evening of April 29th, 1946, 26 middle-aged and elderly Japanese filed into a brightly lighted chapel. The distinguished-looking gentlemen seated themselves quietly in pews facing the pulpit and the colorful Buddhist altar. A guard locked the door. This was not to be a religious service.

These were the men who had guided the destiny of millions of their fellow Japanese to the “threshold of annihilation.” Kingoro Hashimoto was there, the man who had commanded a regiment of artillery during the Rape of Nanking; Koichi Kido, former Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and confidential adviser to the Emperor; Namoru Shigemutsu, once Japan’s Foreign Minister and Ambassador to the Court of St. James; Hideki Tojo, the General, Premier, and War Minister who had led his nation into war and down to defeat; 26 men, all former military and political leaders who would be charged with conspiring so Japan might rule the world.

A document was read to them—the most damning ever read from a pulpit. It was the formal indictment of the major war criminals of Japan, a document signed by the representatives of 11 nations charging every man there with murder and with crimes against peace and humanity.

The scene took place in the chapel of Sugamo Prison.³⁰

The U.S. Eighth Army used the Buddhist prison chapel at Sugamo to read the formal indictment to twenty-six Class A War Criminals in a ritual performed before a Buddhist altar. There is some historical irony to the fact that the former political leaders were subjected to this remonstrance at the hands of the Americans in the same chapel where months earlier thought criminals had been admonished to abandon their beliefs and convert to the imperialist cause.

²⁹ Former editor of the *Military Police Journal* John G. Roos provides a detailed account of the Occupation’s management of Sugamo based on declassified documents. See Roos (2014) for his account.

³⁰ Qtd. in Roos (2014), ix-x.

Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam declaration cast the future of Japan into uncertainty, and the prison system was no exception. The so-called thought criminals who had filled the Japanese prisons were granted universal amnesty by the Occupation, and the former leaders of the government were rounded up and imprisoned in their place. According to the official records of the postwar prison chaplaincy, 5,472 persons were charged with war crimes, and of these 920 were eventually sentenced to die.³¹ As happened elsewhere in the Japanese government under the Occupation, Japanese staff maintained control over the daily operations of the prisons.³² However, the Occupation authorities moved swiftly to eliminate perceived elements of nationalist indoctrination in the prison system. As it became obvious that the Occupation authorities intended to separate religion from state, the future of the prison chaplaincy became doubtful. However, the Occupation's use of the chapel at Sugamo signaled a recognition of the power of religious symbolism in the justice system. The Buddhist chapel at Sugamo did not go unoccupied for long.

The Shinto Directive and the Civil Service Chaplaincy

On December 12th of 1945, GHQ issued SCAPIN 448 "Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control, and Dissemination of State Shinto (*Kokka Shinto, Jinja Shinto*)."³³ This order is known as the Shinto Directive (神道

³¹ SSKS (1986), 48. The *Kokushi Daijiten* gives a different figure: "Five thousand and several hundred found guilty, and 937 death sentences." See the entry for *sensō hanzainin* at *Kokushi Daijiten* available through the *Japan Knowledge Database* at www.japanknowledge.com (accessed March 15, 2017).

³² See *Kyōsei Kyōkai* (1966), 1313-1320.

³³ The order is reproduced in Creemers (1968), 219-222 and in Woodard (1972), 295-299.

指令 *shintō shirei*), but its stipulations had a wide ranging impact on all Japanese religions. William P. Woodard (1896-1973) was head of the Religious Research Unit within the Civil Information and Education Staff Section for most of the Occupation. In his landmark work *The Allied Occupation of Japan-1945-1952 and Japanese Religions* (1972), Woodard summarizes the purpose of the Shinto Directive as follows:

(1) to free the Japanese people from direct or indirect compulsion to believe or profess to believe in a religion or cult officially designated by the state, (2) to lift from the Japanese people the burden of compulsory financial support of an ideology which had contributed to their war guilt, defeat, suffering, privation and current deplorable condition, (3) to prevent a recurrence of the perversion of Shinto theory and beliefs into militaristic and ultranationalistic propaganda designed to delude the people and lead them into wars of aggression, (4) to assist them in a rededication of their national life to building a new Japan based upon the ideal of perpetual peace and democracy. An additional purpose was to strengthen the principle of religious freedom.³⁴

The directive was intended primarily to destroy what was regarded as the ideological source of Japanese militarism. Although the title of the Shinto Directive seems to imply that Shinto was held uniquely responsible for Japanese militarism, Woodard himself regards the focus on Shinto as misleading. He maintains that the true object of the Occupation's concern was not merely Shinto, but rather "the *Kokutai* Cult."³⁵ This cult was understood as a nationalist ideology rooted in the myth of Japanese racial superiority and the divine status of the emperor. For Woodard, one of the authors of the Shinto Directive, the *Kokutai* Cult was not solely the responsibility of Shinto.

³⁴ Woodard (1972), 68.

³⁵ See Woodard (1972), 68. See also Bunce's introduction in Woodard (1972), xvi.

Woodard's superior, Chief of the Religions Division (subsequently Religions and Cultural Resources Division) Dr. William K. Bunce (1907-2008)³⁶ also believed the ultimate purpose of the Shinto Directive was not merely to abolish State Shinto. Woodard writes,

Bunce's unique contribution in drafting the Directive was his expansion of the idea of disestablishing Shinto into the universal principle of the separation of "all religions, faiths, and creeds from the state." Thus the Directive had a universal character not envisioned by the Department of State policy makers. But, because of the name by which the Directive became popularly known, this universality was not generally recognized, and Shrine Shinto became the whipping boy of the Occupation. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the Shrine priests were no more ultranationalistic as a class than were many of the leaders of the other religions, including Christianity, this fact was also ignored by the general public.³⁷

Woodard cites Christianity as an example of another religion that would be subject to the so-called Shinto Directive's prohibition against the promotion of imperialist ideology through religion. However, Buddhism also fell within the scope of this order. Thus, according to Woodard and Bunce (two architects of the Directive), the intent of the Shinto Directive was to prevent the Japanese state from coopting any religion as a strategy for legitimating militarism and ultranationalism.

There are two articles in the Shinto Directive that placed the Shinshū monopoly over prison chaplaincy directly in its sights. The first of these deals with the presence of Shinto altars in public facilities.

Section 1 Article K: "God-shelves (*Kamidana*) and all other physical symbols of State Shinto in any office, school, institution, organization, or structure supported wholly or in part by public funds are prohibited and will be removed immediately."

³⁶ For information on Bunce, see Creemers (1968), 197. See also his obituary published online through his local newspaper. http://www.myeasternshoremnd.com/obituaries/article_3126a013-3520-5bde-9563-568d3d5fba1a.html (accessed March 2, 2017).

³⁷ Woodard (1972), 68.

Since the Meiji period, Japanese prisons housed Buddhist chapels, Buddha images (仏像 *butsuzō*), and Buddhist altars (仏壇 *butsudan*). In 1937, the Corrections Office had ordered that places for performing Shinto services (遥拝所 *yōhaijo* lit. “places to worship from a distance”) were also to be established in Japanese prisons (遥拝所ニ於ケル礼拝ニ関スル件 *yōhaijo ni okeru reihai ni kan suru ken*).³⁸ Under the Shinto Directive, these places of worship were targeted for removal as manifestations of State Shinto. However, the Directive was interpreted to mean that Buddhist prison altars were also no longer viable. This interpretation is in keeping with another article of the Shinto Directive that explicitly expands its purview beyond Shinto to include other religions (i.e., this article reflects Bunce’s “unique contribution”).

Section 2 Article A: “The purpose of this directive is to separate religion from the state, to prevent misuse of religion for political ends, and to put all religions, faiths, and creeds upon exactly the same basis, entitled to precisely the same opportunities and protection. It forbids affiliation with the government and the propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology not only to Shinto but to the followers of all religions, faiths, sects, creeds, or philosophies.”³⁹

Affiliation between any religion and the government was now prohibited—and this prohibition applied equally to Buddhism and Shinto. In the wake of the passage of the Shinto Directive, the prison chaplaincy of the prewar period could not survive unchanged.

In line with the letter and the spirit of this directive, on December 26th of 1945, the Corrections Office issued Order 2349.⁴⁰ This order prohibited prisons from forcing

³⁸ For more on these prison shrines see Nagata (1995), 63. In 1939, thirty-six prisons in the home islands featured shrines. Shrines were also constructed in the Korean colonial prisons.

³⁹ See Woodard (1972), 297.

⁴⁰ This is discussed in Woodard (1972), 138. The original text is reproduced in *SSKS* (1986), 48-9.

inmates to participate in any form of religious worship (宗教上ノ礼拝ハ之ヲ強制セザルコト *shūkyōjō no reihai wa kore wo kyōsei sezaruru koto*).⁴¹ Furthermore, it also instructed that prison shrines, prison chapels, Buddhist altars, and Shinto altars (神棚 *kamidana*) were to be removed, but that this should be done with reverence so as not to offend the religious sensibilities of believers.⁴² The Shinto Directive signaled the demise of the civil service prison chaplaincy.⁴³ However, the Corrections Office soon learned that GHQ had no intention of barring chaplains from the prisons.

Hanayama Shinshō: Sugamo Prison Chaplain

SCAP's most intimate involvement with the Japanese correctional system took place at Sugamo Prison, and the story of prison chaplaincy at Sugamo is one of the most widely publicized prison chaplaincies in Japanese history. The facility was used to house suspected war criminals throughout the proceedings of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (commonly known as the Tokyo War Crimes Trial) from 1946-1948.⁴⁴ Convicted war criminals remained at Sugamo to serve their sentences after the trials were concluded. Given its political significance, Sugamo provides an important case study for the development of prison chaplaincy under the Occupation.

At Sugamo, SCAP policy regarding chaplaincy was governed by the idea that inmates would naturally have a religious preference. Although General MacArthur hoped

⁴¹ See the original text in *SSKS* (1986), 48-9.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴³ Official sources are in agreement on this point. See the official record of the Japanese Correctional Association *Kyōsei Kyōkai* (1966), 1320. And the official record of the Jōdo Shinshū Prison Chaplaincy, *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 77-9.

⁴⁴ The most comprehensive account of these trials in English is Totani (2009).

that the Japanese would embrace Christianity,⁴⁵ there was no over-arching Occupation policy for introducing Christianity to the Japanese prison system. However, the Occupation stationed two American military chaplains at the prison (one Catholic and the other Protestant) to minister to the needs of the detainees.⁴⁶ These were the first Christian chaplains to serve in the Japanese prison system since the Sugamo Prison Incident of 1898. Despite the aid of translators, these American Christian chaplains faced difficulties communicating with their charges. They conducted a survey of the inmate population to determine the religious preferences of the inmates, only to learn that “ninety percent” of them self-identified as Buddhists.⁴⁷ The Occupation authorities at Sugamo prison then filed a request for a suitable Buddhist chaplain with the the Corrections Office. The official charged with locating a chaplain was Nakao Bunsaku (中尾文策 1903-1991), the man who would later become the head of the Corrections Office.⁴⁸

Nakao did not search for long. According to his own account, Hanayama Shinshō (花山信勝 1898-1995), a Honganji-ha Shin priest and professor of Buddhism at Tokyo University, heard of the opening through a friend. Although he had no experience as a prison chaplain, Hanayama volunteered himself. Hanayama had an advantage over most of the career prison chaplains in that he could speak, read, and write in English, and he

⁴⁵ See MacArthur’s writings about Christianity in Japan cited in the appendix to Woodard (1972), 355-9.

⁴⁶ See Hanayama (1995), 14-17. He describes his meetings with the Catholic chaplain “Scott (スコット *Sukotto*)” and the Protestant chaplain “Bones” [?] (ボーンズ *Bōnzu*).

⁴⁷ See Hanayama (1995), 40.

⁴⁸ See Hanayama (1995), 39.

was accepted for the job.⁴⁹ The work was part-time, and he was able to continue his university lectures while visiting the prison several times a week.

Hanayama began visiting Sugamo Prison on February 28th of 1946.⁵⁰ During his time at Sugamo, Hanayama frequently discussed his work with the two American chaplains on staff. He learned from them about the surveys they had conducted of the detainees. Hanayama notes that he was surprised by the earnestness with which the Americans interpreted the detainees self-identification as Buddhists.

When asked about their religion, those who wrote Buddhist did not do so primarily because of some deep belief in the teachings of Buddhism. Rather, they absolutely could not answer that they were Christians, so it seems that they simply wrote Buddhism because that was the religion of their household. However, on the receiving end, from the perspective of religious freedom, the Americans interpreted these answers with a completely serious attitude.⁵¹

The American Christian chaplains assumed that the Japanese inmates were in need of the services of a Buddhist religious counselor. This episode is noteworthy because it reveals a clash between different cultural conceptions of prison chaplaincy. Though Japan had its own tradition of prison chaplaincy, the guiding logic of “doctrinal remonstrance” was grounded primarily in the notion that Shin Buddhism could aid in the strategies of governance by effectively contributing to correctional reform. The dominant discourse of the prewar and wartime chaplaincy was not concerned with the religious freedom of inmates. Since the time of the Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident of 1898, the Japanese

⁴⁹ See Hanayama (1995), 39-40. See also Morita (2005), 295-297. Morita was an employee at Sugamo Prison and then later Tokyo Jail, and he takes an extremely critical stance towards Hanayama. His testimony contains some obvious errors (e.g. he mistakenly claims that Hanayama was a Shingon priest), but it sheds light on some tension between rank and file correctional officers and Hanayama, who was an elite professor who managed to become a minor celebrity after publishing his account of his work in the jail. Morita privately distributed a handful of copies of his book, but it is not generally available. I am thankful to chaplain Hirano Toshioki for letting me borrow his copy.

⁵⁰ *SSKS* (1986), 50-1.

⁵¹ See Hanayama (1995), 40-1.

government had opted to grant Shinshū a monopoly over chaplaincy rather than to allow religious competition. All inmates were compelled to meet with the Shin Buddhist prison chaplains, and they were not free to select a religious counselor based on personal preferences. However, under the Occupation, Hanayama was employed based on the Americans assumption that inmates had religious needs. The American officers in charge of Sugamo assumed that the prison was obligated to meet the religious needs of its inmates and to cater to their religious preferences in order to satisfy the obligation to uphold human rights. After all, the establishment of religious freedom was a cornerstone of SCAP policy towards religions.

The Discovery of the Peace: Rewriting Prison Chaplaincy for the Postwar

Hanayama provides an account of his work at Sugamo in his 1949 memoir *The Discovery of Peace: A Record of Life and Death at Sugamo Prison* (平和の発見: 巣鴨の生と死の記録 *Heiwa no Hakken: Sugamo no Sei to Shi no Kiroku*).⁵² This work inaugurates the postwar vision of chaplaincy in two important ways. First, Hanayama uses his position as a prison chaplain to reflect on the meaning of the war and the role of religion in the emerging postwar order. In doing so, he asserts that his position (as a chaplain and a writer) is “religious and not political.” This orientation is characteristic of prison chaplaincy in that it reflects a focus on “matters of the heart” over problems emerging from the social structure. Second, Hanayama presents a vision of prison chaplaincy grounded in a universal understanding of religion. The undergirding logic is

⁵² Hanayama (1949). Republished as Hanayama (1995).

that religion in general and Buddhism in particular can contribute to peace within the individual heart and in society at large.

Hanayama had his own reasons for pursuing an involvement at Sugamo prison.

He declares his intention in producing this record in his preface:

It goes without saying that I am just a scholar of Japanese Buddhism and that I do not hold a political position [in support of the suspected war criminals]. To the contrary, I cannot help but to feel anger from the bottom of my heart about policies from the Meiji period onwards that have been both suppressive of Buddhism and militaristic. Thus, I do not offer my account with the intention of preserving a record of the lives of these men so poisoned by their own militarism. My position is the opposite.

I believe that a record of these people should be made available so as to promote the realization of true world peace and a peaceful Japan. For this reason, I have decided to go public with my materials. Through my contact with former military officers, government ministers, and even poor soldiers, I have come to know that even persons living such lives have managed to find a happiness that is diametrically opposed to war and conflict through their faith.⁵³

Furthermore, if I did not publish this record, no one else would write such a book. I felt a responsibility towards the citizens of this country and towards history to fulfill a duty, and that is why I decided to write. I have written from the perspective of a religionist (一宗教者の立場から *hito shūkyōsha no tachiba kara*), [...] and political opinions are beyond the realm of my responsibilities, so I have refrained from recording such thoughts.

Although Hanayama claims that his interests are religious and not political, his work is an interpretation of politics and history informed by Buddhist doctrine. The unifying theme is that the Japanese leadership were “poisoned” by their own militarist ambitions precisely because the Japanese (or their government) since the Meiji period turned against the dharma. At the outset, Hanayama establishes that his purpose is to offer a Buddhist interpretation of the religious significance of the war. Concisely stated, the objective of the book is to call for a return to the Buddhist values that he claims modern Japanese have foolishly rejected: “I cannot help but to feel anger from the bottom of my

⁵³ Hanayama (1995), 10-11.

heart about policies from the Meiji period onwards that have been both suppressive of Buddhism and militaristic.” Hanayama assigns war responsibility to the secular leaders of Japan, but his broader point is that the war arose from the spiritual corruption of the hearts of the Japanese. His narrative thus shares similar characteristics with other calls for “collective repentance” that circulated widely in the public sphere during the early postwar years.⁵⁴

Hanayama offers case studies of his prison chaplaincy sessions with various suspected (and later convicted) class A, B, and C war criminals in order to suggest a means of redemption. He claims that even some of the former military leaders were able to achieve a degree of spiritual transformation: “even persons living such lives have managed to find a happiness that is diametrically opposed to war and conflict through their faith.” Through these cases, Hanayama offers a vision of redemption consistent with the goals of Shin prison chaplaincy: spiritual transformation arises through critical self-reflection (反省 *hansei*). Like other Shin prison chaplains, Hanayama links the concept of self-reflection to the doctrine of karma. He introduces this theme in his account of his first sermon given to a group of forty detainees charged as class-B war criminals. He writes that his first sermon was followed by one question:

After the dharma talk, one of them came to me and asked, “I have heard that according to Christianity, the things that happen in a person’s life are predetermined by destiny. What does Buddhism say about this?”

I explained to him the Buddhist doctrine that one must always suffer the consequences of one’s actions (自業自得 *jigō jitoku*).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Tanabe Hajime is a notable example of a call for repentance. See Dower (1999), 496-504.

⁵⁵ Hanayama (1995), 20.

The term 自業自得 *jigō jitoku* (approximately “one must always suffer the consequences of one’s actions”) is shorthand for the doctrine of karma.⁵⁶ The notion of karma grounds Hanayama’s interpretation of the religious meaning of the war and the defeat, but Hanayama invokes this concept so as to call for self-reflection about unskilful conduct. In his individual cases, Hanayama suggests that salvation through Other Power (他力 *tariki*) can be realized through such self-reflection.⁵⁷ However, his broader point is not sectarian advocacy for Jōdo Shinshū.

For Hanayama, the process of self-reflection in line with the principles of karma reveals existential lessons to be drawn from the experience of the war. This exercise of conscience represents a typical pattern in chaplains’ sermons—a person must reflect on their own evil in order to overcome unskilful habits.⁵⁸ However, Hanayama collectivizes and historicizes this process of self-reflection to produce a narrative of national guilt that amounts to a criticism of State Shinto. He presents this position clearly in an op-ed he published in *Chūgai Nippō* newspaper through January 1st-3rd of 1947. The op-ed is cited at length in his memoir:

A tradition of thought arising from one group of Shintoists and Kokugaku scholars at the end of the Edo period led this country to the Great Meiji Restoration of imperial rule. However, this same tradition of thinking led us to abandon our reverence for the eternal and unchanging law of the dharma, and it is extremely regrettable that this thinking led Japan down a path that the whole world calls militarist and imperialist (侵略主義 *shinryaku shugi*).

Of course, the apathy and lack of self-reflection among the Buddhist community is also one great factor in the war, and it goes without saying that we Buddhists must first reflect within ourselves before criticizing others. It is because

⁵⁶ See the entry for 自業自得 *jigō jitoku* in NBKJ (1985), 551.

⁵⁷ In Shin Buddhism, the term *tariki* refers to salvation through faith in Amida Buddha. It is contrasted with self-power (自力 *jiriki*) which refers to methods for obtaining salvation through one’s own religious practice. See NBKJ (1985), 897.

⁵⁸ The typical patterns of chaplaincy sermons are discussed at length in chapter 4.

of a lack of effort on the part of the Buddhists that Shinto was transformed to the point that it became a form of imperialism and militarism. We must reflect (反省 *hansei*) deeply upon this fact, and we cannot help but to feel shame.⁵⁹

Hanayama acknowledges that Buddhists were complicit in the moral failure of the Japanese political leaders in that Buddhists failed to restrain the militarists who coopted Shinto for their own purposes. To this degree, he collectivizes responsibility for the war. However, at the same time, Hanayama carefully distinguishes between Buddhism and Shinto. In so doing, Hanayama locates the cause of the war not in concrete political decisions taken by particular persons, but rather in “militarism” understood as a generalized spiritual corruption. It is because Japan abandoned “reverence for the eternal and unchanging law of the dharma” in favor of a militarist ideology that the suffering of the war was unleashed. The implicit claim underlying this argument is that Buddhism is inherently pacifist (unlike Shinto, which is presented as militarist).

By locating the cause of the war in the collective rejection of Buddhist teachings, Hanayama’s historical account amounts to an exercise in theodicy. Hanayama situates the origins of suffering within the hearts of the Japanese people—not only the political leaders “poisoned” by militarism, but also the Buddhist establishment that failed to provide a moral direction to Japanese society due to their “apathy.” He interprets the second world war and its incumbent suffering as forms of evil imbued with a religious meaning and offers the possibility of redemption through the embrace of the dharma. In this reading, the way forward for the Japanese nation is collective self-reflection (反省 *hansei*) based on the dharma. Thus, Hanayama’s testimony is fundamentally an argument that the dharma can contribute to harmony both within the individual and between

⁵⁹ Hanayama qtd. In Hanayama (1995), 35.

societies. This is the meaning of his title: “The Discovery of the Peace.” The term peace (平和 *heiwa*) reflects both the end of war and the transcendence of internal and subjective turmoil. The essential claim is that there is a link between the peace of nations and the peace of the individual heart. Hence, he maintains that his clients found happiness through faith and not through militarism.

What does Hanayama mean when he claims that his work is religious and not political? Perhaps Hanayama sought to elevate his work above criticism by claiming it to be of a religious nature.⁶⁰ However, the problematic assertion of a religious position that is not also a political one reflects some of the complexities inherent in the role of the prison chaplain. Hanayama equates religion with the private realm and separates it from the public realm of politics. This understanding reflects the Shin tradition of viewing the dharma and the law of the sovereign as existing in a relationship of complementarity (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*) wherein the dharma rules the heart while the sovereign rules the state. We have seen in the previous chapter that the chaplain’s area of expertise is seen as lying in rectifying internal problems of the heart (内心 *naishin*) by bringing the individual conscience into harmony with the public ethos (i.e., the demands of the law of the state).

Hanayama’s focus on the internal dimension of human life and its connection to moral responsibility is an invitation for individuals to consider their own complicity in militarism. However, the subjectivization and collectivization of guilt reflects a serious shortcoming in Hanayama’s historical account. By turning inwards towards a subjective

⁶⁰ Hanayama was not without his critics. A professor from the rival Nichiren sect’s university wrote that Hanayama did well to publish a best-seller, but argued that his work was self-congratulatory without any degree of self-critical reflection: “[Hanayama] should have remonstrated with himself first!” Despite such criticisms, Hanayama became the highest profile prison chaplain in Japanese history, and he contributed to popularizing a Shin Buddhist narrative of collective repentance in the wake of the war. See Hamada (1949). The official history of the Federation of New Religious Organizations of Japan is equally scathing. *Shinshūren Chōsa-shitsu*, ed. (1963), 123.

dimension and away from the political realm, Hanayama avoids attributing responsibility to any particular party or person while rigorously excluding from consideration social or structural factors (e.g. colonialism, imperialism, economic exploitation). His religious (and not political) perspective amounts to a theodicy in which the existence of suffering (in this case, the war) is rationalized by reference to a theory of human nature grounded in the doctrine of karma.

Hanayama's focus on the invisible world of the heart as opposed to material and social conditions represents an important continuity between prewar and postwar chaplaincy discourse. I have argued that the most obvious shortcoming of this mode of discourse is that it excludes from consideration those injustices inherent in the structure of society. Although Hanayama was never formally trained as a chaplain, his understanding of religion as private leads him to reproduce the subjectivist emphasis of prewar prison chaplaincy discourse. The hallmark of his subjectivism lies in his assertion of spiritual corruption as a causal factor in the war: the "poison" of militarism arose from collective rejection of the dharma. According to this narrative, the source of social and individual suffering and the solution to those problems all lie within the hearts of individuals. On the one hand, this perspective could be considered empowering in that it encourages individuals to engage in critical "self-reflection" (反省 *hansei*) about their own complicity in suppressive state projects. However, the overly severe corollary of this line of thinking is the notion that all members of a nation somehow bear equal responsibility for state actions—an appalling thought. The shortcoming of Hanayama's myopic focus on the private is also readily apparent in that Hanayama refrains from suggesting any concrete legal changes or policy proposals that might fundamentally alter

the structure of society. This subjectivist orientation is what Hanayama implies by claiming his account is religious but not political. Hanayama frames religion as a component of private life, not a contender in the public sphere. The chaplain's characteristic focus on the heart is already on full display in Hanayama's memoir—the first major work representing the postwar prison chaplaincy. We will see moving forward that the chaplain's subjectivist focus on private troubles over social issues continues in the postwar period.⁶¹

Hanayama's memoir also indicates an important change in direction for the postwar prison chaplaincy. First and foremost, from his eager cooperation with the Occupation authorities we can see how readily Hanayama adapted the discourse of the chaplaincy to support the newly established public authorities. Though he retained the chaplaincy's traditional focus on the heart, his most obvious innovation was the articulation of an ecumenical vision of prison chaplaincy that bridged Buddhism and Christianity.

Hanayama attempted to translate his work into terms that his American counterparts could understand, and in so doing he sought to give them a favorable impression of Buddhism and Buddhist prison chaplaincy. We have seen already that Hanayama emphasized that Buddhism was not the same as militarist Shinto ideology. He was at pains to convey this message of pacificism to the American chaplains at Sugamo.⁶² He also went to great lengths to offer mutually intelligible interpretations of the Buddhist rites of prison chaplaincy. When one of the American prison chaplains

⁶¹ C. Wright Mills famously defined sociology as the study of the connections between private troubles and public issues. Mills (2000), 1-24.

⁶² See an American account of Hanayama presented in Roos (2014) 39-48.

asked him to explain why flowers are necessary for a Buddhist rite, Hanayama offered a response that is a striking example of postwar religious universalism that would become characteristic of chaplains' unions.

It was March ninth [of 1946]. [Catholic] Chaplain Scott approached me with an embarrassed look and said, "Doctor Hanayama, do you absolutely need flowers? In the Christian tradition, we can still conduct a rite without the flowers."

Some time ago I had made a request of him. "We Japanese can't get our hands on them, but perhaps the American military could procure some flowers?"

At that time, he had agreed to help me, but finding flowers proved harder than he had anticipated. In light of this difficulty, he had decided to ask me the reason for my request.

"Flowers are absolutely necessary. From a religious perspective they are a necessity. They are not simply for decorating the table. There is a deeper meaning attached to the flowers."

"Is that so?" He replied. He appeared to ponder over this. After a short while, the Protestant chaplain Bones appeared, and he asked me about the matter.

"Do you absolutely need the flowers?"

"I definitely would like to have them."

"But why do you need them? Please explain the reason."

In response, I replied to his questions one by one as the answers occurred to me.

"The candles represent light, the light of human life. We Buddhists would call this a symbol of the Buddha's wisdom."

"I understand. And the flowers?"

"The flowers represent mercy (マースイ、慈悲 *māsi, jīhi*). God's love, the love of the *kami* (ゴッドス・ラブ、神の愛 *godosu rabu, kami no ai*)."

"I see. And what about the incense?"

"The incense purifies the sins of human beings, so it is a symbol of purification."

"In that case, I understand. We will find a way to get you some flowers."

In this way, we were able to make offerings to the Buddha of yellow chrysanthemums, daffodils, and seasonal flowers, and the altar (仏壇 *butsudan*) was always decorated. Even if only a little, we could offer some comforts from this lively floating world (浮世 *ukiyo*) to the deprived senses of the war criminals.⁶³

Hanayama translates three symbolic components of the Shin Buddhist prison chaplaincy session into a language of religious universalism that produces equivalencies between Christian and Buddhist concepts. Candles represent the light of human life; flowers

⁶³ Hanayama (1995), 51-2.

represent the Buddha's mercy or "God's love;" and incense purifies the sins (罪 *tsumi*) of human beings. The invocation of life, love, and the purification of sin provides only a skeletal framework for interreligious dialogue, but the assumption of the fundamental translatability of Buddhist rituals and concepts into a language intelligible to Christianity evinces a turn towards religious universalism. This is in stark contrast to the prewar chaplaincy. Since the Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident of 1898, Shin chaplains had rejected outright any sharing of responsibilities with Christians. However, in the postwar period, a concept of religious universalism became the guiding principle of the prison chaplaincy.

Hanayama served as prison chaplain at Sugamo Prison for three years. During that time, in addition to his dharma talks before larger audiences, he also oversaw the last rites of thirty-four men. Seven of these were class A war criminals (including former prime minister Tojo Hideki 東條 英機 1884-1948), and the remaining twenty-seven were class B and C war criminals.⁶⁴ In 1949, Hanayama resigned his post as Sugamo prison chaplain in order to attend the Second Conference on Eastern and Western Philosophy at the University of Hawaii together with D.T. Suzuki (鈴木 大拙 貞太郎 Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō 1870-1966). The prison management considered asking Suzuki to take over for Hanayama as prison chaplain, but in the end opted to hire Tajima Ryūjun (田島隆純 1892-1957), a priest of the Buzan sect of Shingon-shū and a professor of Taishō University.⁶⁵ While he ministered to the convicted war criminals at Sugamo, Tajima became one of the driving forces behind the publication of *Testaments of the Century*

⁶⁴ *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 272-3.

⁶⁵ *KKHN* (1973 vol. 1), 272-3.

(*Seiki no Isho* 1953), a collection of excerpts from the personal letters of some 692 Japanese executed as war criminals throughout Asia.⁶⁶ Both Hanayama's memoir and Tajima's *Testaments* arose from their experiences as prison chaplains, and each work offers a different reflection on the meaning of war guilt combined with a meditation on the importance of maintaining the peace. Each work borrows the authority of the dead to present an admonition intended for the entire nation.

Transitioning to a New Model of Prison Chaplaincy

Just as Buddhist chaplaincy was allowed to continue at Sugamo prison under the auspices of inmate's religious preferences, a similar policy was introduced to govern the Japanese prison system as a whole. One month after the Buddhist prison chapels were closed and the Buddhist altars removed from the prisons, the Corrections Office backpedalled with an order issued on January 26th of 1946. This time, it was decreed that Buddhist altars could be returned to the prisons for those inmates who might *choose* to pray.⁶⁷ Though this may seem a minor change, the introduction of a concept of an inmate's personal religious preference signaled a sea change for the structure of the Japanese prison chaplaincy.

The changes in correctional policy began with Corrections Order No. 1 (刑政甲第一号 *keisei kō dai ichi gō*) of January 4th, 1946. This order, produced under instructions from the Occupation, announced a new direction for the Japanese prison system. It is known as the "Declaration of Postwar Corrections (戦後行刑宣言 *sengo*

⁶⁶ Sugamo Isho Hensankai, ed. (1953). See Dower (1999), 515-521. See also Tajima's own memoir *On the Day I Die (Waga Inochi Hateru Hi Ni)*, 1953).

⁶⁷ SSKS (1986), 48-9.

gyōkei sengen).” The declaration states that the three guiding principles for the postwar correctional system will be respect for human rights (人權尊嚴 *jinken songen*), correctional rehabilitation (更生保護 *kōsei hogo*), and self-sufficiency (自給自足 *jikyū jisoku*).⁶⁸ The provision for human rights entailed a respect for inmates’ perceived religious needs. To that end, article six speaks directly to the role for religion in the new correctional system.

The majority of prisoners are lacking in religious sentiment. One of the foundation stones for the new Japan will be the cultivation of religious sensibility. Bearing in mind the goal of recognizing and cultivating true humanity (真実ナル人間性 *shinjitsu naru ningensei*), religious chaplaincy (宗教教誨 *shūkyō kyōkai*) is to be expanded, and it is to be hoped that the expansion of activities by religionists in the prisons will contribute to an atmosphere of moral rehabilitation (道義更生 *dōgi kōsei*).⁶⁹

This order made clear that a role for religion in prison was to be maintained under the Occupation. However, despite SCAP’s employment of Hanayama at Sugamo Prison, the general question of the legal status of prison chaplains remained unresolved.

Secularizing Chaplaincy

Outside of Sugamo Prison, Buddhist prison chaplains continued to work within the Japanese prison system as salaried employees, but changes were made to deemphasize the religious nature of their work so as to avoid running afoul of GHQ policies separating religion from state. On March 6th of 1946, a draft of the postwar constitution, written by Americans, was presented to the Japanese public.⁷⁰ The draft

⁶⁸ SSKS (1986), 50.

⁶⁹ SSKS (1986), 50

⁷⁰ Dower (1999), 347.

gauranteed religious freedom and the separation of religion from state. One month after the constitution was presented to the people, the Correctional Office revised the official title of “prison chaplain” to “correctional instructor” (司法教官 *shihō kyōkan*), and their numbers were reduced to 115 persons.⁷¹ The new constitution was scheduled to be implemented in 1947, and so, like other sectors of the Japanese government, the Correctional Office began to implement reforms to bring itself into line with the new law of the land. The fundamental structure of postwar prison chaplaincy was implemented in two stages. These correspond to the secularization and universalization of the Jōdo Shinshū chaplaincy.

The first major reform initiated the secularization of prison chaplaincy. This divided prison chaplaincy activities into two types: religious and non-religious. This change was implemented when the Corrections Office issued Circular 981 “On the Substance of Correctional Education” (行刑教化の充実について *gyōkei kyōka no jūjitsu ni tsuite*) in October of 1946. With this order, the Corrections Office established religious chaplaincy (宗教教誨 *shūkyō kyōkai*) and general chaplaincy (一般教誨 *ippan kyōkai*) as models to be instituted nationwide.⁷² Prior to the Sugamo prison incident of 1898, Christians Arima Shirōsuke and Tomeoka Kōsuke’s had advocated for a non-religious focus on ethics in prison chaplaincy as a means to avoid imposing a particular religious viewpoint on inmates.⁷³ To some degree, this suggestion was actually adopted in 1946. According to Circular 981, the construction of two types of prison chaplaincy

⁷¹SSKS (1986), 51.

⁷²KKHN (1973 vol. 1), 78-9.

⁷³ Arima and Tomeoka are discussed in relation to the Sugamo Prison Incident in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

was in line with a new foundation for correctional education based on two principles: respect for the humanity of inmates (人間性の尊重 *ningensei no sonchō*) and the goal of reform based on moral principles (道義更生 *dōgi kōsei*).⁷⁴ These principles clearly reflect the undergirding ideal of human rights at the heart of the Declaration of Postwar Corrections.

Under the new constitution, religious freedom was established as a human right. Thus, a notion of religious preference was introduced into the Japanese prison system. Concretely, this change meant that prison chaplains would be tasked with both general (secular) moral education and targeted religious services. The secular component of their work was defined as “ethical, educational, and social,” and this general chaplaincy was to remain a compulsory part of the prison curriculum for all inmates.⁷⁵ The logic is that general chaplaincy is officially defined as non-religious, and so mandatory participation cannot violate a person’s religious freedom. On the other hand, religious chaplaincy was to be conducted solely on a voluntary basis in line with an inmate’s own religious preferences.

Universalizing Doctrinal Remonstration

The second change to the structure of the prison chaplaincy universalized “doctrinal remonstration” (教誨 *kyōkai*) by inviting all religious groups to participate. In April of 1947, one month before the postwar constitution was implemented, the civil service prison chaplaincy (now under the guise of the “judicial instructor” system) was

⁷⁴ *SSKS* (1986), 53.

⁷⁵ *KKHN* (1973 vol.1), 79.

formally abolished.⁷⁶ The Corrections Office declared a transition to a volunteer-based system. The new system would rely on the labor of religionists from the private sector (民官宗教家 *minkan shūkyōka*). This change opened the door to the creation of the diverse range of chaplains' unions that exist today.

This public-private initiative was part of a broader project to redefine religion-state relations under the Occupation. A key component to this redefinition of the role of religion was that religious organizations came to be defined by their contributions to keeping the peace. Peace here implies both the peace between nations and social stability. The interaction between the government and religious organizations in redefining the chaplaincy illustrates this point.

To rebuild the prison chaplaincy, the Corrections Office requested assistance from the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations (日本宗教連盟 *Nihon Shūkyō Renmei*).⁷⁷ Like the prison chaplaincy, the forerunner to this umbrella organization had once served to harness the support of religionists to the imperial cause. The postwar transformation of the umbrella organization of Japanese religions mirrors that of the prison chaplaincy itself. Both organizations were reoriented towards the postwar order defined by the values of pacifism and human rights.

The Japanese Association of Religious Organizations had its origins in the wake of the passage of the repressive Religious Corporations Bill (宗教団体法 *shūkyō dantai hō*) implemented in 1940.⁷⁸ The bill set the number of officially recognized religions at

⁷⁶ *SSKS* (1986), 55.

⁷⁷ *SSKS* (1986), 56.

⁷⁸ Takizawa (1966), 13.

forty-three sects: twenty-eight Buddhist groups were permitted along with the thirteen sectarian Shinto groups; the Catholic church was permitted, and all thirty-four major Protestant branches were merged into the United Church of Christ in Japan (日本基督教団 *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan*).⁷⁹ (Shinto Shrines were officially defined as non-religious, so they fell outside the purview of this law). From 1940, all forty-three recognized religious groups were placed under the direct authority of the powerful Home Ministry (内務省 *naimushō*) so that they could be mobilized to support Japan's war in China.⁸⁰ In 1943, the government ordered the three umbrella organizations representing the officially recognized religions (sectarian Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity) to form one overarching umbrella organization in service to the war effort: the result was the Japanese Association of Religions for Contributing to the Country During War (財団法人日本戦時宗教報国会 *zaidan hōjin nihon senji shūkyō hōkoku kai*).⁸¹

In the aftermath of the war, GHQ abolished the repressive Religious Corporations Bill and encouraged a greater degree of competition among religious organizations. Rather than disbanding, by 1946, the Japanese Association of Religions for Contributing to the Country During War reversed its institutional orientation from a militarist stance to a pacifist one and reemerged as the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations. In addition to the original member organizations, the newly formed Jinja Honcho umbrella organization of Shinto Shrines also joined. This addition reflected the fact that under GHQ, Shinto shrines lost their status as non-religious civic institutions and were instead

⁷⁹ Ibid. (1966), 13.

⁸⁰ Ibid. (1966), 13-4.

⁸¹ Ibid. (1996), 8-9.

forced to reorganize as religious organizations. On June 2nd of 1946, the expanded Japanese Association of Religious Organizations declared its new orientation:

Through the intimate cooperation of the various Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian groups, we plan to actively develop an educational movement (教化運動 *kyōka undō*) so as to contribute to the establishment of world peace by serving to rebuild Japan into a culture based on morality (道義に基づく文化日本の建設 *dōki ni motozuku bunka nihon no kensetsu*).⁸²

The association held a major conference on December 13th of 1946 to declare their rejection of wartime militarism and to discuss the mobilization of religious resources for the benefit of a democratic and peaceful society. The official history of the group published in 1966 states the intention of the conference as follows.

The Preface to the UNESCO Charter states that because war begins in the hearts of human beings, we must work to preserve peace in the hearts of human beings. Until each and every Japanese citizen internalizes the abandonment of war and the absolute pacifism of the new constitution, the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations must continue to be devoted to [promulgating the message of peace].⁸³

The association officially renounced the earlier efforts by religionists to contribute to the war by reading a statement of repentance (懺悔文 *zangebun*) at their conference.⁸⁴ The heart of this statement is that all religions are by nature inherently pacifist and that Japanese religions fell short of their own ethical standards by failing to stand up to the militarist regime. The assertion of a common pacifist essence shared by all religions represents one of the guiding principles for this influential ecumenical organization. As we saw with Hanayama above, religious life in the immediate postwar period was marked

⁸² Ibid. (1966), 29.

⁸³ Ibid. (1966), 45.

⁸⁴ Ibid. (1966), 47.

by the efforts of leading religionists to find a common language. The concept of peace played this role for the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations.

In addition to advocacy for pacifism and the new constitution, a shared commitment to a belief in the power of spiritual transformation provided the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations with a unifying perspective. This undergirding belief provides the impetus for the association's outreach work. Pacifism was coupled with a focus on educational activities, or, more specifically, the proselytization of moral teachings (religious doctrines). The hope was that the teaching of religious doctrines grounded in the pacifist spirit of the new constitution could contribute to rebuilding Japanese culture "based on morality" by working at the level of "each and every" individual. This logic of spiritual transformation relies on the assumption that religion contributes to peace by making individual people more peaceful in their private and public lives. It resonates with the logic Hanayama employs in *Discovery of the Peace*.

The prison chaplaincy activities of the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations developed together with the Association's pacifist educational platform. Shortly after receiving the Corrections Office's request for help in restructuring the prison chaplaincy, the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations published the *Religions Handbook* (宗教便覧 *shūkyō benran*, 1947) as a collaborative effort with the Religions Research Group of the Ministry of Education (文部省内宗教研究会 *monbushō nai shūkyō kenkyū kai*). This text introduces prison chaplaincy as follows:

Broadly speaking, there are two ways for religion to contribute to the elimination of crime. The first is to elevate the moral sensibilities (道義心 *dōgi-shin*) of the general society so as to stop crimes before they occur. The second is to reform (感化遷善 *kanka senzen*) people who have committed crimes so that they will not re-offend. Prison chaplaincy is this second method of reform.

Originally, the religious heart (宗教心 *shūkyōshin*) arises from the realization of the many crimes and evils of humanity [...] or through the realization of one's own weakness. For this reason, teaching religion to prisoners troubled by their own serious crimes often leads to a sincere conversion. Throughout history there are many examples of those who are extremely evil one day only to achieve some realization and transform into exemplary persons (大善人 *dai zennin*) the next.⁸⁵

This document reveals how a logic of spiritual transformation is applied to the problem of crime. On the one hand, religion can contribute to the cultivation of the “moral sensibilities” (道義心 *dōgi-shin*, literally “heart of morality”) of the populace at large, thereby preventing crimes before they occur by instilling moral and peaceful behavior in the people. On the other hand, religion can prevent recidivism by contributing to the reform of inmates. Prison chaplains can help incarcerated people to awaken to the nature of evil, thereby bringing about the cultivation of the “religious heart” (宗教心 *shūkyōshin*). This awakening amounts to character reform—ideally the transformation of a former offender into an “exemplary person” (大善人 *dai zennin*).

This logic of spiritual transformation mirrors the logic of conversion seen in prewar Jōdo Shinshū chaplaincy discourse. However, the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations articulated the role of the prison chaplain in a universalist language grounded in an understanding of religion as a natural component of the human and a protected human right. Prewar Shin chaplains emphasized the centrality of Right Views (正見 *shōken*), change of heart (改心 *kaishin*), and the attainment of the Peaceful Heart (安心 *anjin*) as factors for correctional reform. Under the auspices of the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations, the linkage between change of heart and correctional rehabilitation was retained, but the understanding of spiritual transformation

⁸⁵ Shūkyō Renmei, Monbushō-nai Shūkyō Kenkyūkai, Jiji Tsūshinsha, ed. (1947), 307.

was universalized so that all religions could be seen to contribute to character reform and social stability. This universalism reflects the ecumenical character of the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations.

Moreover, just as Shin chaplains had once dedicated themselves to supporting the war effort, the postwar chaplaincy, organized under the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations, defined its role as contributing to the peace. On the one hand, specific Shin doctrines characteristic of pre-war prison chaplaincy receded into the background to become just one viable permutation of religion-based reform. On the other hand, the postwar chaplaincy maintained the undergirding principle that the law of the state is righteous and that religions play a part in upholding the legal and social order. The essential difference is that the postwar incarnation of prison chaplaincy is defined by the pacifist constitution of 1947 and its recognition of religious freedom as a universal human right.

Building the Chaplains' Unions

In 1948, the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations established an internal committee (宗教教誨中央委員会 *shūkyō kyōkai chūō iinkai*) to work with religious organizations throughout Japan for the purpose of building a national network of prison chaplains.⁸⁶ This organization took responsibility for conducting research about prison chaplaincy and for nominating chaplains to serve in the prisons. The Corrections Office conducted a survey of the prison population in 1947 to determine the religious preferences of inmates. Similar surveys have been conducted periodically until the

⁸⁶ SSKS (1986), 56.

present day.⁸⁷ Religious preference has become one type of data maintained by the Japanese correctional system, and such data is routinely exchanged with chaplains' groups.⁸⁸

Table 5.3 1947 Survey of Inmate's Religious Preferences

Religious Preference	Total Number of inmates	Percentage (sic)
Shinto	2,301	2.8%
Buddhism	59,122	75.7%
Christianity	6,823	8.6%
No Answer	11,126	12.9%
Total Population	(79,372)	(100%)

Source: SSKS (1986), 56.

The Occupation of Japan ended in 1952. It was April 15th of 1954 before the first postwar National Prison Chaplains Conference was held at the Shitennōji (四天王寺) Temple in Osaka. At this conference, the decision was made to pursue the goal of founding a National Chaplains' Union (全国教誨師連盟 *zenkoku kyōkaishi renmei*) as a public interest corporation (公益法人 *kōeki hōjin*) to serve as the umbrella organization for the prison chaplaincy. In pursuit of this objective, religious organizations from each of Japan's eight correctional districts were requested to band together to create eight regional groups out of which to construct the larger organization.⁸⁹

A provisional version of the National Chaplains' Union was established by the third national chaplains' conference of 1956. It was not until 1962, however, that the union was finally granted official status as a public interest corporation (公益法人 *kōeki*

⁸⁷ See, for example, Akaike and Ishizuka (2011).

⁸⁸ The SSKS (1986) text is an example of a training document produced by and for chaplains that relies heavily on data from the Corrections Office.

⁸⁹ SSKS (1986), 56.

hōjin).⁹⁰ The official name of the newly created legal entity responsible for the financial and practical management of the prison chaplaincy is the National Chaplains' Union Foundation (財団法人全国教誨師連盟 *Zaidan Hōjin Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei*).⁹¹ Under Japanese law, a foundation (財団法人 *zaidan hōjin*) is a type of public interest corporation (公益法人 *kōeki hōjin*). Public interest corporations are defined as non-profit groups that exist for the public benefit through the promotion of rituals, religion, welfare, scholarship, and the arts.⁹² (The Japanese Sumo Wrestling Association (日本相撲協会 *nihon sumō kyōkai*) is a public interest corporation, and so is the Red Cross of Japan). In the documents registering the National Chaplains' Union Foundation, the founder and president is listed as the abbot of Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Ōtani Kōshō (大谷光照 1911-2002). This honorary position reflects the fact that Shin priests remained the most numerous among the chaplaincy.

The impetus for registering as a public interest corporation (公益法人 *kōeki hōjin*) was pragmatic and driven by financial necessity.⁹³ The legal requirement of separation of religion from state meant that the chaplaincy was cut off from state funding. Thus, the training and expenses of the chaplaincy had to be financed entirely through donations.⁹⁴ Under Japanese law, public interest corporations that serve as a public

⁹⁰ SSKS (1986), 74-5.

⁹¹ SSKS (1986), 75.

⁹² See the entries for *kōeki hōjin* (p. 331) and *zaidan* (p. 449) in Kaneko et al, ed. (2008).

⁹³ SSKS (1986), 74-5.

⁹⁴ SSKS (1986), 74-5.

benefit are taxed very little if at all.⁹⁵ In the case of the National Chaplains' Union, most donations came through contributions from participating religious organizations or their representatives. The first budget of the National Chaplains' Union indicates that the organization's annual revenue matched its expenditures at 1,755,159 Yen for the fiscal year of 1962.⁹⁶

Once the National Chaplains' Union had been established, the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations abolished its internal committee overseeing prison chaplaincy. The new union took over responsibility for research, the training of chaplains, and mediation between religious organizations and the government.⁹⁷ The union also initiated the publication of the postwar vocational journal *Chaplaincy* (教誨 *kyōkai*) in 1963, and this journal remains the central publication of the prison chaplaincy today.⁹⁸ The union also continues to sponsor national and regional chaplains' conferences.⁹⁹ Finally, the central union published the standard edition of the *Chaplains' Manual* (教誨必携 *kyōkai hikkei*) in 1966. This manual established a common outline for a theology shared by chaplains from various sects. (The nature of that theology is the topic of the next chapter). In short, the National Chaplains' Union became the governing body of the prison chaplaincy and took responsibility for the appointment and training of prison chaplains as these responsibilities were transferred from the state (Corrections Office) to religionists in the private sector.

⁹⁵ See the entries for *kōeki hōjin* (p. 331) and *zaidan* (p. 449) in Kaneko et al (2008).

⁹⁶ *SSKS* (1986), 77.

⁹⁷ *SSKS* (1986), 75-6.

⁹⁸ *SSKS* (1986), 74-5.

⁹⁹ *Kyōkai Hikkei* Henshū Iinkai, ed. (1966).

Since the founding of the central union, the number of chaplains has grown year by year. Their exponential growth compared with the prewar chaplaincy reflects the fact that postwar chaplains are part-time volunteers, not full-time, salaried employees.

Table 5.4 Growth of the Chaplaincy in the Postwar Period.

Year	Chaplains	Year	Chaplains
1964	1,407	1987	1,640
1967	1,477	1991	1,645
1970	1,492	1995	1,699
1974	1,556	1999	1,747
1977	1,581	2003	1,766
1980	1,565	2005	1,802
1983	1,587	2014	1,855

Source: Zenkokou Kyōkaishi Renmei, ed. (2006), 73.

As the number of chaplains has continued to expand, a great variety of religious organizations have formed their own chaplains' unions over the years. These unions were formed through cooperation between religious organizations, the ecumenical umbrella group the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations, and the government's Corrections Office. As the sectarian unions developed, most sects eventually published their own version of a chaplains manual for the purposes of training their own prison chaplaincy and imposing some degree of theological uniformity. The result is that the discourse of the prison chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) became a distinct genre of theology shared by many sects in the postwar period. Today, the National Union sits at the pinnacle of a vast network of interrelated organizations. The largest of the sectarian groups are represented in table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Major Chaplains' Unions Operating Under the National Union		
Major Chaplains' Unions	Founded¹⁰⁰	Chaplains' Manual
National Chaplain's Union Foundation 財団法人全国教誨師連盟	1954 first meeting; 1966 registered.	<i>Kyōkai Hikkei</i> (教誨必携 1966) <i>Kyōkai Manyuaru</i> (教誨マニュアル 1993) *New edition in production as of 2017
Shinshū Honganji-ha <i>Kyōkaishi Renmei</i> (浄土真宗本願寺派教誨師連盟)	1958	<i>Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Kyōkaishi Hikkei</i> (浄土真宗本願寺派教誨師必携 1990)
Shinshū Ōtani-ha <i>Kyōkaishikai</i> (真宗大谷派教誨師会)	1965	<i>Kyōkai Shishin</i> (教誨指針 1987) <i>Shinshū no Kyōkai</i> (真宗の教誨 2011)
Jōdoshū <i>Kyōkaishikai</i> (浄土宗教誨師会)	1962 ¹⁰¹	No manual. ¹⁰²
Sōtōshū <i>Kyōkaishi Rengōkai</i> (曹洞宗教誨師連合会)	1963	<i>Sōtōshū Kyōkaishi Manyuaru</i> (曹洞宗教誨師マニュアル 1974)
All Shingon <i>Kyōkaishi Renmei</i> (全真言宗教誨師連盟)	1960 (first meeting of All Shingon Chaplains' Union)	<i>Kyōkai Kōwa shū</i> (教誨講話集 1973). <i>Kyōkaishi Kyōhon</i> (教誨師教本 1994) ¹⁰³
Nichirensū <i>Kyōkaishikai</i> (日蓮宗教誨師会)	? ¹⁰⁴	<i>Nichirensū Kyōkaishi Hikkei</i> (日蓮宗教誨師必携 1990) <i>Nichirensū Kyōkaishi Hikkei Hoshū</i> (日蓮宗教誨師必携補輯 2000)
<i>Jinja Honchō Kyōkaishi Kenkyūkai</i> (神社本庁教誨師研究会)	1947	<i>Kyōkai no Tebiki</i> (教誨の手引き 1960, revised 1979, 1999).

¹⁰⁰ In each case I have reported the year of founding as recorded in the sect's own chaplain's manual. See the bibliography for information about chaplains' manuals.

¹⁰¹ This information is from the website of the Jōdo Shū Chaplains' Union at <http://jodo.or.jp/kyokaishikai/index.html> (accessed March 29, 2017).

¹⁰² Confirmed through personal communication (email) with Jōdo Shū prison chaplain on March 30th, 2017.

¹⁰³ This text was published by the Kōya-san branch of Shingon. The Shingon sects operate a collective chaplains union, but some branches of Shingon also have their own sub-groups. The subgroups include the chaplains unions for the Kōya-san-ha, Buzan-ha, and Chizan-ha sects.

¹⁰⁴ The history of the Nichirensū Chaplains' Union is not recorded in their own manuals, and they do not have a web presence. This suggests that the union is loosely organized and that Nichiren chaplains engage primarily through the National Chaplains' Union.

Konkōkyō <i>Kyōkaishi Renmei</i> (金光教教誨師連盟)	1978	<i>Tomo ni Kokoro wo Hiraite</i> (ともに こころをひらいて 1987, revised 2005)
Tenrikyō <i>Kyōkaishi Renmei</i> (天理教教誨師連盟)	1953	<i>Tenrikyō Kyōkaishi Dokuhon</i> (天理教教誨師読本 1963) <i>Tenrikyō Kyōkai no Tebiki</i> (教誨の手引き 1994)
<i>Nihon Kirisutokyōdan</i> <i>Kyōkaishikai</i> (日本キリスト教団教誨師 会)	1968 as <i>Keimusho</i> <i>Dendō Inkai</i> (刑務所伝道委員 会)	<i>Hitoya no Tomo</i> journal (獄の友 published from 1975) <i>Kyōkai Manyuaru</i> (教誨マニュアル unpublished manuscript) ¹⁰⁵

In addition to sectarian chaplains' unions, there are trans-sectarian groups associated with the eight administrative districts of the Corrections Office. These district unions include the Kantō *Kyōkaishi Renmei* (関東教誨師連盟), the Hokkaidō *Kyōkaishi Renmei* (北海道教誨師連盟), the Tokyo *Kyōkaishikai* (東京教誨師会), and even a group in Okinawa. Finally, there are chaplains' unions attached to particular penal institutions like the Tachikawa Jail Chaplains' Union (立川拘置所教誨師会 *Tachikawa Kōchisho Kyōkaishikai*) and the Fuchū Prison Chaplains' Union (府中刑務所教誨師会 *Fuchū Keimusho Kyōkaishikai*). Chaplains from various sects participate together in the regional and institutional groups. A typical prison chaplain is likely to be a member of three or more of these unions. For example, one chaplain will typically belong to his sectarian group, the regional group, and at least one institutional group (more if he works more than one institution). Each group incurs obligations on its members to attend periodic training sessions and to contribute financially to the upkeep of the organization.

¹⁰⁵ As of Spring of 2016, the United Church of Christ in Japan has not published a standard chaplains' manual. The draft in my possession was received directly from a Protestant chaplain, but it is not clear to me how widely circulated this draft is.

The National Chaplains' Union reflects three of the defining characteristics of the postwar chaplaincy that distinguish it from the prewar civil service prison chaplaincy. First, the National Chaplains' Union is an ecumenical organization grounded in a sense that religious organizations share a common mission in contributing to the peace and to benefiting society through religious proselytization. This sense of mission inherits the ideals of the parent organization the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations. Second, the National Chaplains' Union is a quasi-governmental agency that exists primarily to mediate between the state and religious organizations. Public servants (not chaplains) staff the offices of the National Chaplains' Union located in the Corrections Hall (矯正会館 *kyōsei kaikan*)—the same government building that houses the National Diet Library's Corrections collection in Nakano, Tokyo.¹⁰⁶ Third, the National Chaplains' Union directs an unpaid labor force composed of religionists who work in prisons as representatives nominated by their religious organizations.

Chaplaincy Today

As of March of 2017, Japan has 1,864 prison chaplains serving a prison population just over 80,000 distributed throughout 77 correctional institutions (62 prisons, 8 jails, and 7 juvenile detention houses).¹⁰⁷ The number of prison chaplains in Japan is 14% greater than the total membership of the American Correctional Chaplains'

¹⁰⁶ See the official website of the National Chaplains' Union at <http://kyoukaishi.server-shared.com> (accessed March 28, 2017).

¹⁰⁷ *Kyōsei no Genjō* (2014), 15.

Association (ACCA), which stands at approximately 1,600 members.¹⁰⁸ The American chaplains serve an incarcerated population greater than 2.2 million spread throughout more than one thousand correctional facilities. For every American prison chaplain, there are about 1,375 inmates. For every Japanese prison chaplain, there are approximately 43 inmates. This difference can be attributed to the fact that America prison chaplains are typically salaried members of a prison's staff.¹⁰⁹ Japanese chaplains, by contrast, work *pro bono publico*, so a number of chaplains from a variety of sects will visit a particular institution in any given week.

In the U.S. most prison chaplains are Protestant ministers,¹¹⁰ and in Japan 66% of prison chaplains hail from Buddhist sects. A great portion of these are Shin Buddhists. Since 1995, there have been approximately 9,000 group chaplaincy sessions conducted nationwide in Japan each year. In 2008, there were 8,514 individual sessions held.¹¹¹ Today, inmates can choose whether or not to attend group chaplaincy sessions or individual counseling sessions, but almost all death row inmates do meet with chaplains for individual counseling sessions at some point, and chaplains are present for nearly all executions in Japan.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ The number is taken from a survey of the prison chaplaincy conducted by the Pew Forum. This number reflects the total number of salaried chaplains who are state employees and members of the American Correctional Chaplains' Association, but it does not include various sorts unpaid volunteers who are unaffiliated with the professional union. See the report: *Pew Forum Website*. <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/03/22/prison-chaplains-exec/>. (Accessed February 27, 2017).

¹⁰⁹ See the *American Correctional Chaplain's Association Website* at <http://www.correctionalchaplains.org>. (Accessed March 20, 2017).

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Akaike and Ishizuka (2011): statistical notes

¹¹² There are no public statistics about the presence or absence of chaplains at executions, but I have heard from multiple informants that all death row inmates are encouraged to accept a chaplain's accompaniment.

Table 5.6 Chaplains by Sectarian Affiliation¹¹³

Shinto Sects	225	Christian Sects	262
Jinja Honchō	144	Catholic	66
Konkōkyō	65	Protestant	196
Other	16		
Buddhist Sects	1,214	Miscellaneous	163
Tendai	40	Tenrikyō	162
Shingon	159	Other	1
Pure Land	678 ¹¹⁴		
Zen Sects	189		
Nichiren	148	Total	1,864

Source: *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* Website at <http://kyoukaishi.server-shared.com>. (Accessed March 20, 2017).

The Appointment of Chaplains

The structural outline of chaplains unions provided above gives a picture of how the prison chaplaincy is organized. It is through the network of chaplains' unions that chaplains are appointed. Prison chaplains are sometimes described as “volunteers” (篤志家 *tokushika*).¹¹⁵ However, the term volunteer is deceptive. Regarding the appointment of prison chaplains, there is a tension between the perspective presented in the training materials produced for the prison chaplaincy and the experience of individual prison chaplains.

The description of the nomination of prison chaplains included in the Jinja Honchō *Chaplain's Manual* suggests that the nominating process is not entirely voluntary.

It reads:

¹¹³ *Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei* Website at <http://kyoukaishi.server-shared.com>. (Accessed March 20, 2017).

¹¹⁴ Jōdoshū 142; Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha 317; Jōdo Shinshū Ōtani-ha; 198.

¹¹⁵ SSKS (1986), 70. Prison chaplains are described as volunteers with variations of the term 篤志家 *tokushika*.

Have pride in Jinja Honchō and recognize that Jinja Honchō has selected you as a chaplain. Maintain a sincere heart (真心 *magokoro*) and unfailing conviction. [...] You must build good relationships of trust with your clientele.¹¹⁶

Although there are some chaplains who volunteer independently, the overwhelming majority are appointed by their ecclesiastical organizations. During the course of interviews, all but two chaplains related that they were recommended for the position by a senior colleague from their own religious organization.¹¹⁷ One of the exceptions took over for his father; the other stated that she opted to do it completely of her own volition.

The process of appointing chaplains reveals how chaplains unions serve as mediators between the state and religious organizations. If a chaplain from a particular sect retires, then his host institution may contact the National Chaplains' Union to request a new appointment from that sect. For example, a senior Konkōkyō chaplain working in Chiba described the process of his own appointment as follows:

It's very complicated. A person cannot take some qualification and then apply to become a prison chaplain. In my case, my predecessor [another Konkōkyō chaplain] passed away, and then I was recommended by the union (宗連 *shūren*) to replace him. There has to be a recommendation (推薦 *suisen*) from the union. Without that connection (連れ *tsure*), it won't happen.¹¹⁸

When I asked him directly if prison chaplains could be described as volunteers (ボランティア *borantia*), he paused for a moment and considered his words carefully.

Perhaps we could be called volunteers, but there is some remuneration (謝金 *shakin*) from the sect (宗派 *shūha*), so it is not really volunteering. There are also some other issues. I have kept on doing this work until this advanced age, but there is no system for retirement. And I don't have someone to take over in my

¹¹⁶ Jinja Honchō Kyōkaishi Kenkyūkai (1999), 44-5

¹¹⁷ See the following chapter for a detailed breakdown of interviews.

¹¹⁸ Interview with three Konkōkyō chaplains at a Konkōkyō church in Chiba on 5.8.2015.

place (後継者 *kōkeisha*). But we do receive some recognition from the state in the form of commendations (表彰 *hyōshō*) and decorations (勲章 *kunshō*) [...] ¹¹⁹

Prison chaplains are appointed as representatives of their ecclesiastical organizations to serve in the prison system. Because they lack a salary and a career post in the Corrections Office, they are sometimes described as volunteers. However, those who are selected to serve as prison chaplains often reject the association of the work with volunteerism. The Konkōkyō chaplain mentioned modest remuneration (for travel and other expenses). It seems he intended this information to clarify that the activity could not be considered volunteering because there is some money involved. However, he then pivoted to another issue: he has been doing the work for a long time, and as there is no obvious successor for him, he cannot stop doing it. This comment reveals another problem with describing prison chaplains as volunteers. Even if he wanted to stop, it seems he imagines there would be some difficulties involved, and so his participation is not entirely a matter of choice. Finally, he tempered this comment by noting that the work of chaplains does receive some recognition from the authorities in the form of commendations and decorations. The chaplain seems to have offered this information to show that the work is not entirely without reward even if it is generally unpaid save for minor remunerations.

In spite of the lack of individual choice that characterizes the process of nominating prison chaplains, with only two exceptions, the chaplains I interviewed generally reported that they were glad that they had become chaplains. The exceptions reveal some tensions between official representations of prison chaplaincy and the experiences of individual prison chaplains:

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Honestly, I did not want to become a prison chaplain. My father was a prison chaplain for a long time. Then why did I become one? The reason I have to spend my days going in and out of prison has to do with the past-life causes and connections (*innen* [the Tenrikyō equivalent of karma]). It feels like that. I really resisted becoming a prison chaplain, truly I did. I refused and refused.

After my father died, he was awarded a commendation (*kunshō*) from the state. He did not get it until after he was dead. So when he died, the warden of the prison where he worked came to me at the end of the year in the year that my father died. The warden said that he had come to announce that my father had received this commendation (*kunshō*) from the Ministry of Law. [Now, I had some sense what this was about because] earlier, at my father's funeral, another chaplain had already asked me if I would take over as a prison chaplain in my father's place. I flat out refused.

But then, this coming and going from prison business that a chaplain has to do—something about it made me feel a connection (*innen*) to a past life. [All laugh]. If I say this to other chaplains, they will probably get mad at me. This is just what I thought. The point is, I refused it.

But then it turned out that this *sensei* [the chaplain who had asked me to take over] had arranged it so that my succession as prison chaplain was to be announced at the ceremony for my father's award (*dentatsushiki*). So of course I had to go to this ceremony to receive the award on behalf of my father. At that time, you know what they said? At the ceremony, they said, "There is nothing so admirable as a son who takes over his father's responsibilities as a prison chaplain!" [All laugh]. I thought, What!? I refused this outright! But it was too late—I already had my father's award in my hands! I was thinking, but I refused!

And then I realized: oh no, I have already accepted the award. I really can't refuse to take over as prison chaplain after taking the award. There was nothing I could do (*yamu wo ezu*).

This is what we call the theory of past life causality (*innen-ron*). Now both my father and I have ended up spending our days in and out of prison—both of us must have done terrible things in our past lives! We must have been that kind of family in a past life.¹²⁰

The other exception made a similar doctrinal reference: "I must have done something bad in a past life to create a karmic connection to the prison! I was nominated by the church.

I'm in no position [*tachiba* 立場] to refuse."¹²¹ These are suggestive statements in a

number of ways. First and foremost, prison chaplaincy is difficult and unpaid labor.

Second, because of the nature of the work, it can become a tremendous psychological

¹²⁰ Interview with Tenrikyō Chaplain conducted in Tenri on 11.25.2014.

¹²¹ Interview with another Tenrikyō Chaplain, also conducted in Tenri on 11.25.2014.

burden. The second man quoted here works in a maximum security prison primarily dealing with clients who have committed murders and other violent crimes. He feels he has been dealt a bad hand because “for these people, there is no hope. They will not get out, and they aren’t interested in reform.”

It is possible to refuse an appointment to the prison chaplaincy. However, the expectations of senior colleagues in the religious group can be difficult to ignore. In spite of the difficulties, most of the chaplains I interviewed expressed an overall positive assessment of their experience. The former President of the Chaplains’ Union, Shin Priest and death row chaplain Hirano Toshioki (平野俊興) expressed his feelings like this: “Of course it is not easy. But since I became a chaplain I do think my perspective on life has deepened.”¹²²

Conclusions and Problems

The defining characteristics of postwar chaplaincy are the division of chaplaincy into general and religious types and the proliferation of a wide variety of chaplains’ unions intended to meet the Corrections’ Office’s demand for volunteer religionists to serve in the prisons. This system developed because SCAP abolished the civil service prison chaplaincy through the Shinto Directive and the 1947 constitution. SCAP had no intention of eliminating prison chaplaincy altogether given that they pursued a policy of maximizing religious freedom. To that end, SCAP employed Hanayama Shinshō at Sugamo Prison, thereby signalling the intention to retain some form of prison chaplaincy that would be in accordance with the new ideals of pacificism and human rights that

¹²² Interview with Hirano Toshioki conducted on 10.3.2014.

came to be enshrined in the postwar constitution. As the religious world underwent a radical re-orientation following the war, the militarist Japanese Association of Religions for Contributing to the Country During War was transformed into the pacifist Japanese Association of Religious Organizations. The Corrections Office asked this latter group to build the postwar prison chaplaincy. The Japanese Association of Religious Organizations willingly obliged because prison chaplaincy was fundamentally aligned with the political platform of pacifist education and proselytization that defined their agenda.

The combination of the two policies of secularization and universalization introduces a tension that becomes a defining characteristic of the postwar prison chaplaincy. The policy to divide general chaplaincy from religious chaplaincy (secularization) assumes that a line can easily be drawn between religious content and content that is not religious. However, the second policy calls for volunteers from religious organizations (universalization) to be placed in charge of both religious chaplaincy and general chaplaincy. Thus, there is an assumption that religionists, based on their sectarian training, are equipped to offer general instruction in ethics that is not religious. A passage from the Jinja Honchō *Chaplain's Manual* (first published in 1960) is illustrative of this complexity:

In chaplaincy, there is the general type of chaplaincy aimed at all inmates, and there are the religious types of chaplaincy for those who request it. The latter type includes group sessions, individual sessions for those who request counseling, and also funeral services.

General chaplaincy usually takes the form of a lecture and must be conducted with no relation to any particular religion and with no conscious preference for any particular religion. General chaplaincy is limited to the range of what may be regarded as *a commonly socially acceptable generalized religious education* [社会通念上の宗教一般の教化 *shakai tsūnenjō no shūkyō ippan no*

kyōka].¹²³ In this case, the contents should encourage the inmates to cultivate a socially acceptable morality based on value judgments grounded in common sense.

In religious chaplaincy sessions, the primary purpose is to propagate one's own religion. These sessions should be conducted with the aim of offering direction through encouragement and dialogue based on one's own sect's doctrines.¹²⁴

Officially, sectarian doctrines are prohibited in general chaplaincy sessions. However, even general chaplaincy sessions introduce “commonly socially acceptable generalized religious education.” This circumlocution suggests the ambiguous nature of general chaplaincy sessions. The attempt to state what kind of content is appropriate for general chaplaincy sessions borders on the oxymoronic: is it secular religious education? Where does one draw the line between “socially acceptable generalized religious education” and sectarian indoctrination? Is it really possible for a Jinja Honchō chaplain to conduct a general chaplaincy session with “no conscious preference” for Jinja Honchō over other religions? The same *Chaplain's Manual* suggests the nature of the difficulty:

Because Shinto is the source of Japanese culture, if one explains the Shinto spirit contained in traditional culture, so long as one minds one's choice of words and avoids criticizing other religions, then Jinja Honchō chaplains are extremely well-suited to general chaplaincy.¹²⁵

In the case of Jinja Honchō, the assumption that Shinto is not a religion but rather the “source of Japanese culture” makes the difference between general and religious chaplaincy murky. If Shinto prison chaplains can conduct general chaplaincy sessions based on their training and sectarian materials from Jinja Honchō, then how will a group

¹²³ In the attempt to define *ippan kyōkai* as distinct from *shūkyō kyōkai* this sentence succeeds in conflating the two into (what appears to be a neologism unique to this sentence) *shūkyō-ippan*. Italics added.

¹²⁴ Jinja Honchō kyōkaishi Kenkyūkai (1999), 44

¹²⁵ Ibid. 46.

general chaplaincy session differ from a group religious chaplaincy session? (Individual counseling sessions are exclusively religious chaplaincy sessions.)

In pointing to this complexity, my aim is not to suggest that somehow general chaplaincy sessions are actually in violation of Japan's own constitutional requirements regarding religion.¹²⁶ I think the historical significance of these general chaplaincy sessions lies elsewhere. The content of general chaplaincy sessions is informed by the history of Japanese religious thought. Concepts with a long history in Japanese religious traditions—concepts related to the heart (*kokoro*), its purification, and notions of self-cultivation—are officially designated as secular because they are broadly shared by many religions. These are some of the same basic concepts employed by the prewar Shin Buddhist prison chaplains. The postwar period sees such ideas translated into a generalized language (ideally devoid of sectarian specificity) for use in the general chaplaincy sessions. To borrow historian Yasumaru Yoshio's famous term, general chaplaincy sessions offer education in a "conventional morality" (通俗道德 *tsūzoku dōtoku*).¹²⁷

¹²⁶ For a high court case dealing with chaplaincy, see Ōie (1984), 281-361. There is only one high court case dealing with prison chaplaincy included in this standard collection of verdicts from trials touching on constitutional issues regarding religion, and the case does not touch on the constitutionality of chaplaincy. A death row inmate in Osaka Jail sued on the grounds of a violation of his religious freedom because he had been denied access to chaplaincy, but the record of the trial reveals that the plaintiff also sought relief from other generally abusive practices. The verdict was issued by the Osaka High Court on August 20th, 1957.

¹²⁷ Yasumaru (1999).

Chapter 6

The Public and Private Lives of Prison Chaplains

Introduction

This chapter investigates the complex role (立場 *tachiba*) of prison chaplains in contemporary Japan by analyzing the official representations of chaplaincy found in prison chaplains' manuals (教誨マニュアル *kyōkai manyuaru*) in light of findings drawn from interviews and fieldwork with chaplains and their unions. I argue that the experiences of prison chaplains reflect tensions inherent in the political processes whereby public and private spheres of life are distinguished in contemporary Japan. For prison chaplains, their official station presumes a hierarchical relationship that places duties to the state above personal interests and beliefs, which are relegated to the private realm. Thus, official representations of prison chaplaincy form a dominant discourse that circulates in public (through the publications of the chaplains unions), while the personal narratives and opinions of individual chaplains and their struggles tend to remain in the shadows of the private realm (though they are often expressed in conversation and occasionally revealed to the broader public by journalists).¹

Interviews reveal how the sometimes competing and sometimes overlapping demands of religion, state, and clients shape the lives of the people who make up the prison chaplaincy. I found that the official discourse of the chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) maintains a focus on the private troubles of offenders (problems of the heart)

¹ See Horikawa (2014) for an example of a journalist's approach.

while largely ignoring broader social factors that contribute to crime.² Field visits to prisons indicate that the practices seen in group chaplaincy sessions reflect this orientation. However, I also found that the experiences and opinions of individual prison chaplains and their one-on-one interactions with individual inmates move beyond the boundaries set by the official discourse to encompass nuanced considerations of public issues, critical reflections on the structure of society, and occasionally even financial and material assistance to former inmates after their release.³ Not surprisingly, the gap between official rhetoric and their own personal experiences frequently causes frustration for prison chaplains. I conclude that the experiences of the chaplains are fundamentally structured by broader patterns in religion-state relations that characterize contemporary Japanese society. Ultimately, the privacy that surrounds the prison chaplaincy reflects the tradition of relegating religion to a privatized and apolitical realm. Furthermore, in the justice system, this traditional role for religionists is compounded by two factors: first, chaplains are encouraged to focus exclusively on inmate's private troubles (and not on social issues) in the course of their work, and second, chaplains (and death row chaplains in particular) are often required to keep the nature of their work a secret.

² C. W. Mills famously defines the sociological imagination as the capacity to imagine connections between the private troubles of the individual and the public issues faced by society as a whole. He argues that the task of sociology is to draw connections between biography and history. In my own studies of the official rhetoric of prison chaplaincy, as a researcher with a longstanding interest in problems of crime and justice in society, I see the official discourse's myopic focus on private troubles to the exclusion of public issues to be one of its major shortcomings. See Mills (2000).

³ The practice of interacting with inmates after they have been released is technically not permitted, but it appears to be tolerated. Several chaplains I interviewed related anecdotes about their own efforts to support inmates who came to ask once their sentences were served.

The Privatization of Religion and Secrecy in the Prison System

The role of religionists in the criminal justice system reflects two senses of privacy.⁴ The first sense of privacy relates to the enforced privatization of religion that characterizes both the Meiji Constitution of 1889 and the postwar constitution of 1947. Under both the Meiji and the postwar legal systems, religion has been simultaneously privatized and conceived as a public benefit that the state has a vested interest in promoting and managing.⁵ Important studies of the construction of religion as an object of governance in Meiji Japan have clarified that this process was defined by the subordination of religious commitments to the apolitical, private realm of the heart (心 *kokoro*) so that they could not conflict with the state's demand for loyalty.⁶ Under the 1947 constitution, religion is legally constructed as a private affair, but the rationale for this privatization is not subjugation to state priorities, but rather protection within the framework of human rights (freedom of religion, separation of religion from state) designed to shelter individuals from state overreach. Within the postwar framework, Japan has seen the expansion of civil liberties and the development of a robust public

⁴ For an anthropological engagement with the political processes involved in constructing the public/private divide, see Jackson (2006). Summarizing Hannah Arendt's conceptualization of the private realm in ancient Rome, Michael Jackson notes that there are two overlapping senses of privacy entailed by the classical distinction between the private *domus* and the public, political life of the *polis*:

[T]he private realm denotes a conglomeration of singular and reclusive subjectivities 'deprived of the reality that comes from being seen and heard by others.' In so far as privacy suggests confinement to 'the subjectivity of [one's] own experience,' it spells the end of the common world. Two different senses of privacy are entangled here, for while the *res privata* defines domestic space—the *domus*, subject to the authority of the *pater familias*, a world within four walls—it also connotes the hidden, reserved, clandestine field of the personal in which certain thoughts, intentions, and desires are masked because they are not considered compatible with the *res publica*. (11).

⁵ Casanova (1994) presents an influential case against the privatization component of the secularization thesis by arguing that religion in many modern societies plays a leading role in the public sphere.

⁶ See Maxey (2014).

sphere relatively independent from state control, and in this sphere religious organizations have emerged as leading voices and political actors.⁷ The prison chaplaincy outreach work done by religious organizations represents one example of religion's function as a public benefit. However, despite the fact that religions in contemporary Japan play roles in both private and public life, the office of the prison chaplain appears somewhat anachronistic. Even though the official rationale for postwar prison chaplaincy relies on the invocation of constitutional guarantees for freedom of religion, the doctrines and practices of the prison chaplaincy remain closely tied to state priorities in a way that continues the Meiji tradition of harnessing religion for the purposes of statecraft. In the postwar period, the discourse of the chaplaincy continues to focus on harmonizing the private realm of religious beliefs with the priorities of the state.

The second sense of privacy at issue in the discussion of the prison chaplaincy is related to the secrecy that surrounds the Japanese criminal justice system. David T. Johnson writes that “the most fundamental problem in Japanese criminal justice is that the system is so hostile to outside scrutiny it remains impossible to see or say what many of the problems are.”⁸ Within the Japanese justice system, regulations, unwritten norms, and peer pressure serve to keep the system itself out of the public gaze so that its practices do not become subject to debate or outside oversight. Prison chaplains are private volunteers who work within correctional institutions. Thus, the correctional system places demands upon them, and its codes and practices have an impact on their

⁷ See Ehrhardt, Klein, McLaughlin, and Reed (2014) for a discussion of the *Kōmeito* as an example of religion in the public sphere. See also Sugano (2016) for a discussion of the role of religious organizations in *Nihon Kaigi*. There is a wide variety of literature on the formation of the public sphere in Japan. See, for example, Schwartz and Pharr, ed. (2003).

⁸ Johnson (2006), 123-4.

lives. Moreover, the disjunction between the private beliefs of chaplains and the responsibilities of their public station can create tensions for the individuals who make up the chaplaincy.

What demands can the state make of individuals? How do the two senses of privacy—the private realm of religious beliefs associated with the heart and the secrecy that surrounds the operation of the prisons—coexist in the lives of chaplains? My own study of prison chaplains suggests that while interested researchers may gain access to prison chaplains and receive permission to conduct research visits to prisons, for chaplains themselves, an obligation to secrecy (守秘義務 *shuhi gimu*) continues to keep their contributions, the operations of the justice system, and the death penalty out of the public eye.⁹

The Public-Private Divide and the Principle of Religion-State Complementarity

This chapter questions continuities between contemporary chaplains and their predecessors by looking to how the chaplains' recognized specialization in matters of the heart (心 *kokoro*) places them in a paradoxical position between religion and state. Due to the constitutional separation of religion from state, state employees are barred from engaging with the religious lives of inmates. Thus, chaplains serve as proxy agents of the public authority charged with ministering to inmates' private religious concerns. Former president of the chaplain's union and death row chaplain at Tokyo Detention House Hirano Toshioki (平野俊興) explains the division of roles as follows:

⁹ Several chaplains invoked their obligation to secrecy during our conversations and interviews. The stated purpose of the obligation to secrecy is to protect the privacy of incarcerated people.

In Japan, the relationship between religions (宗教 *shūkyō*) and politics (政治 *seiji*) is strange. Religionists cannot be state employees, and state employees cannot discuss religion. So, [the job of the death row chaplain] is defined as providing support to the hearts of the people on death row. That role is the role of a religionist (宗教家 *shūkyōka*), and chaplains are private volunteers. The government cannot pay religionists for this kind of work.

However, inmates can make requests for a Buddhist or a Christian chaplain, and the prison is permitted to meet these requests. The whole system works on requests from the inmates (希望教誨 *kibō kyōkai*). This is the law. The country has to acknowledge that there are problems of the heart (心の問題 *kokoro no mondai*), but the government cannot present a Buddhist or a Christian perspective. So, private prison chaplains exist to answer to this need.¹⁰

In Hirano's framing, the state is legally obligated to recognize that inmate's have religious needs represented as "problems of the heart." However, the separation of religion from state and the guarantee of religious freedom effectively bar state employees from engaging with religious concerns while also preventing the state from offering remuneration to prison chaplains. Thus, "private prison chaplains" are brought in to the prison system to minister to the perceived religious needs that the state holds itself obligated to respect but not address. In chaplains' manuals, the official rationale for the recognition of an irreducible religious dimension is consistently presented in the language of human rights discourse.¹¹

The correctional system's recognition of a private and irreducible religious dimension is not merely the result of an imposition foisted upon the Japanese by the architects of the 1947 constitution. Rather, the recognition of "problems of the heart" inherits the legacy of the Shin prison chaplaincy and its undergirding tradition of complementarity (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*) between the dharma and the law of the state,

¹⁰ Interview with Toshioki Hirano conducted on 10/3/2014.

¹¹ For an example of this framing, see Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei *Kyōkai Manyuaru* Hensan Inkaikai (1993), 20.

wherein the dharma rules the private (私 *shi*) realm of the heart while the sovereign rules the public (公 *kō*) sphere of politics.¹² When the Shin model of prison chaplaincy was universalized under the postwar constitution of 1947, a variety of sects developed their own prison chaplaincies in the mold of Shinshū “doctrinal remonstrance (教誨 *kyōkai*).”¹³ Thus, although contemporary prison chaplaincies operate under the rationale of human rights, the official doctrines of the chaplaincy appear anachronistic in that they remain defined by the principle of complementarity. This quality is readily apparent in the way the Chaplains’ Manual of the National Chaplains’ Union defines prison chaplaincy (教誨 *kyōkai*) with reference to the agenda of the state:

The term prison chaplaincy refers to the totality of psychological, ethical, and religious instruction activities (教化活動 *kyōka katsudō*) carried out for the incarcerated in prisons and juvenile institutions. In short, these prison chaplaincy activities appeal to the metaphysical spirit (形而上的な精神 *keijijōteki na seishin*) that is the foundation of the human (人間の根底 *ningen no kontei*) to provide reeducation for a legally prescribed period and thereby to encourage an inmate’s return to society.¹⁴

According to this definition, the purpose of prison chaplaincy is to use “psychological, ethical, and religious instruction” as strategies to aid in the work of correctional rehabilitation: “to encourage an inmate’s return to society.” Thus, despite the diversity of the contemporary chaplaincy, their official duties in the postwar period continue to reflect the Shin tradition of complementarity: chaplains are positioned to harmonize the private realm with the priorities of the public authorities.

¹² This topic is addressed in Chapter 4.

¹³ This topic is addressed in Chapter 5.

¹⁴ Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei *Kyōkai Manyuaru* Hensan Iinkai (1993), 11.

A Functionalist Approach to the Role of Religion in Corrections

The role of prison chaplains as a support to the state correctional program represents a functionalist approach to managing religion. A precedent for such a functionalist approach to religion is made manifest in an important supreme court case dealing with the limitations on state involvement with religions. In 1977, the Supreme Court Verdict in the Tsū Grounds Pacification Case (津市地鎮祭大法廷判決 *Tsū-shi jichinsai dai hōtei hanketsu*) ruled that Tsū city's usage of government money to hire a Shintō priest to conduct a Grounds Pacification Rite (地鎮祭 *jichinsai*) was not a violation of the constitutional separation of religion from state. The supreme court held that the complete separation of religion from state was not viable:

As a reality of the nation state system, it must be acknowledged that the complete separation of religion from state is practically close to impossible [...]. In light of each country's social and cultural conditions, in practice a state must always engage with religion to some extent. For this reason, in relation to the fundamental goals of the legal guarantee for the protection of the freedom of religion, the problem at issue is whether an engagement [with religion] is excessive to the extent of being unconstitutional.¹⁵

The legal precedent derived from this verdict is known as the “Purpose and Effects Standard” (目的・効果基準 *mokuteki kōka kijun*), and it represents a means for determining whether a particular instance of state involvement with religion is constitutional.¹⁶ This standard holds that the government may support certain religious activities so long as the *purpose* of such support is secular and the *effects* of the same do

¹⁵ See the full text of the verdict at <http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~suga/hanrei/25-3.html> (accessed April 14, 2017).

¹⁶ It is thought that this framework was made with reference to the “Lemon Test” of *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U. S. 602 (1971). The Lemon Test consists of three stipulations designed to test whether a particular instance of religion/state relations is constitutional: 1.) The statute must have a secular legislative purpose; 2.) the principle or primary effect of the statute must not advance or inhibit religious practice; 3.) the statute must not result in excessive government entanglement with religious affairs. On the *mokuteki kōka kijun*, see Kaneko et al (2008), 1199.

not amount to the promotion of one particular religion above others or the suppression of any particular religion.¹⁷

The verdict in this landmark case includes a consideration of various examples of involvement between religion and the state that are deemed to meet the requirements of the Purpose and Effects Standard. In this discussion, the court touches upon prison chaplaincy directly. The court declares that the involvement of religious volunteers in the prison system must be constitutional because the state's responsibility to ensure the religious freedom of its citizens must be balanced against the constitutional requirement for the separation of religion from the state.

As for the chaplaincy activities occurring in prisons and other institutions, if any trace of religion were subject to absolute prohibition, this would inevitably lead to the effect of severely curtailing the religious freedom of the incarcerated.¹⁸

Thus, prison chaplaincy activities are deemed constitutional along the lines that the state's *purpose* for the provision of such is to uphold the religious freedom of incarcerated individuals. Hence, according to the Purpose and Effects Standard, the provision of prison chaplaincy is constitutional.

The Tsū verdict and the Purpose and Effects Standard represent a functionalist approach to religion according to which state authorities have the responsibility to make judgments about the social and legal effects of certain decisions that will have an impact on religion. Religion is legally constructed as if it were a measurable and manageable force with powers that can be attenuated or amplified based on state actions. The court

¹⁷ See the full text of the verdict at <http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~suga/hanrei/25-3.html> (accessed April 14, 2017). See also Kaneko et al (2008) on the *Tsū Jichinsai Jiken* (p. 883-4) and the *mokuteki kōka kijun* (p. 1199).

¹⁸ See the full text of the verdict at <http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~suga/hanrei/25-3.html> (accessed April 14, 2017).

considers prison chaplaincy only in order to uphold its constitutionality, but there is another dimension to the functionalist discourse of purpose and effects that surrounds the prison chaplaincy, and this other dimension is excluded from the court's considerations.

As the Tsū case was working its way through the court system, the former head of the Corrections Office Nakao Bunsaku (中尾文作) offered his own opinion about the role of prison chaplaincy in the correctional system in an interview with the vocational journal of the Correctional field, *Keisei* (刑政), in 1976. Nakao maintains a similar functionalist interpretation of the role for religion in Corrections, but the purpose and the effects that he identifies are distinct from those taken up by the court in its discussion of prison chaplaincy.

The question has been asked, is the purpose of chaplaincy to make a believer out of someone or to prevent crime? [...] I think the point [that the purpose of chaplaincy is to make believers] is exceedingly clear.

It goes without saying that the field of corrections emphasizes the aim and role [that chaplaincy plays] in the prevention of crime, but even having said that religion contributes to the prevention of crime, we cannot ignore the desires of inmates and force them to receive chaplaincy on the grounds that it would be useful to our purposes. This would be unconstitutional. Thus, we cannot link the purpose of chaplaincy straight to the goal of crime prevention. [From the perspective of corrections,] the purpose of conducting chaplaincy in cases when the individual desires it is that to the extent that a person is living in faith, the result is the reality of crime prevention. This is through and through an effect of faith.¹⁹

Nakao suggests that the purpose of prison chaplaincy is not merely to ensure the religious freedom of inmates, but also to encourage their correctional reform: “crime prevention [...] is [...] an effect of faith.”²⁰ This interpretation is entirely in keeping with the official

¹⁹ Nakao (1976), 5.

²⁰ Ibid.

goals of the chaplaincy which also emphasize contributions to maintaining public order through the teaching of religious doctrines (as we saw in the previous chapter).

Given Nakao's comments, it is clear that the rationale for prison chaplaincy within the correctional system is at least two-tiered. At the foundational (or constitutional) level, prison chaplains are invited to prisons to ensure that prisoner's constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion is not violated.²¹ At the second level, religion is thought to provide a benefit to the managerial objectives of the correctional system and its institutions. Nakao himself cites crime prevention as a goal that is aided by the provision of prison chaplains. Furthermore, the draft of the Criminal Institutions Bill (刑事施設法案 *Keiji Shisetsu Hōan*) of 1987 (included in the National Chaplains' Manual) suggests that the designated role of chaplains goes beyond ensuring the religious freedom of inmates and the function of supporting crime prevention to include other benefits to the operations of the prison facility:

Article 120. The wardens of correctional facilities will take appropriate measures to contribute to the psychological stability (心情の安定 *shinjō no antei*) of death row inmates by seeking the cooperation and support of private volunteers (篤志家 *tokushika*) to carry out counseling, encouragement and lectures as necessary.²²

Though this clause does not mention prison chaplains by name, the reference to private volunteers denotes prison chaplains. According to legal scholar Ishizuka Shin'ichi, the phrase "psychological stability" (心情の安定 *shinjō no antei*) only occurs in the

²¹ Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei *Kyōkai Manyuaru Hensan Inka* (1993), 392.

²² Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei *Kyōkai Manyuaru Hensan Inka* (1993), 393. The history of this bill is complex. It was intended as a complete revision of the Prisons Law (監獄法 *Kangoku Hō*) of 1908, and it was submitted to the Diet three times in the 1980s without passing. However, the bill was not passed until 2006—after an incident involving the death of an inmate in Nagoya Prison in 2003. The history of the bill can be read here: http://www.moj.go.jp/kyousei1/kyousei_kyousei03.html (accessed April 14, 2017).

Japanese law with reference to the management of death row inmates.²³ The implication is that prison chaplains play a role in managing the emotional state of person's on death row and thereby facilitate the management of the prisons.

From the functionalist perspective of the correctional bureaucracy, it seems that there are three roles for prison chaplains: to ensure that inmates' constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom is protected; to contribute to the objective of crime prevention; and to promote the emotional stability of inmates and death row inmates in particular. In all three of these registers, the responsibilities of the prison chaplain are defined with reference to the inner life of inmates: what Hirano called, "problems of the heart" (心の問題 *kokoro no mondai*) that the state itself is bound to recognize but not address. These problems of the heart correspond to the private realm (私 *shi*) as defined in the Shin doctrine of complementarity (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*) that undergirds the history of the prison chaplaincy. In this sense, the role of the prison chaplain in contemporary Japan continues to be defined as one of harmonizing the private to the priorities of the public authorities, and the functionalist logic of the bureaucracy accepts that religion can play a part in the management of the prison population by ministering to the private realm of the heart.

The Official Discourse of the Chaplaincy

Although there are a great range of sects involved in prison chaplaincy in the postwar period, there is a common core to the official chaplaincy discourse (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) and to the practice of prison chaplaincy behind bars. In this section, I argue

²³ Personal communication, chaplains' manual committee meeting, November 2015.

that the essence of this shared discourse lies in a subjectivist interpretation of crime and rehabilitation. Crime is interpreted as a form of moral evil and presented as flowing from “problems of the heart” (心の問題 *kokoro*). The lynchpin of the official discourse surrounding chaplaincy is predicated on the notion of spiritual transformation. Thus, the official discourse of the chaplaincy relies on drawing connections between change of heart, religious salvation, and correctional rehabilitation. This shared discourse reflects the official positions of sectarian chaplains’ unions and the National Chaplains’ Union Foundation. In presenting the parameters of the official rationale for prison chaplaincy, I aim to uncover both the limitations and the possibilities inherent in this discourse.

Table 6.1 presents the contents of six chaplains’ manuals for comparison. The six manuals reflected in the table include the non-sectarian manual of the National Chaplains’ Union (carried by all prison chaplains) and five sectarian manuals representing two Buddhist groups (Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha and Kōya-san Shingonshū), Shrine Shintō, Tenrikyō, and the United Church of Christ in Japan. As this table indicates, despite sectarian differences, there is a general structure shared by the chaplains’ manuals. Each manual includes roughly three types of information: an overview of the history of the prison chaplaincy (general and sect specific); information about the penal code and the correctional system; and guidance about the theory and practice of prison chaplaincy that is rooted in sectarian doctrine. This general structure reflects that laid down by the first edition of the National Chaplains’ Union’s manual published in 1966.²⁴

²⁴ Kyōkai Hikkei Henshū Iinkai, ed. (1966).

	National Chaplains' Union	Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha	Kōya-san Shingonshū
1	Preface: Ōtani Kōshō ([Now former] Head of Honganji and Head of the Chaplains' Union), Tobita Seikō (Head of the Corrections Office), Maeda Kō (Head of the Correctional Association), Ōshima Nagisa (Director), and others	The Ideals of Chaplaincy	Preface: Head of Sect Affairs; Head of the Chaplains' Union.
2	Part 1: Theory The Ideals of Chaplaincy	The Essentials of Shin Doctrine for Chaplaincy	History of Prison Chaplaincy
3	The History of Chaplaincy	A Brief History of Chaplaincy	The Object of Prison Chaplaincy
4	Issues and Prospects for Prison Chaplaincy	Issues and Prospects for Prison Chaplaincy	Overview of Correctional Facilities and Corrections
5	Part 2: Practice Overview of the Correctional System	The Mission, Organization, and Activities of Honganji Chaplains	Educational Activities
6	The Practice of Prison Chaplaincy	The Practice of Chaplaincy	Penal Labor
7	Participation in the Management of Corrections	Overview of the Correctional System	Juvenile Institutions and Chaplaincy
8	Various Systems and Persons Related to Prison Chaplaincy: Police, Prosecutors, Lawyers, Criminal Trials, Juvenile Trials, Probation, the Social Welfare System, Prison Volunteers.	The Practical Experience of Chaplaincy	The One-on-one Session (<i>mensetsu</i>)
9	Part 3: Documents The Present Situation of Prison Chaplaincy in the Correctional System	Participation in the Management of Corrections	The History of the Kōya-san Chaplain's Union
10	The State of Prison Chaplaincy in Foreign Countries	Various Systems Related to Prison Chaplaincy: Police, Courts, Juvenile Corrections, Prison Volunteers, Probation.	Prison Chaplain's Curriculum
11	Correctional Terminology	Examples of Chaplaincy	The Teaching and Practice of Shingon
12	Related Laws	Plan of Instruction for Honganji Chaplains: Shinran's View of the Human; the Buddha's Wisdom and Mercy; Awakening to One's own Crimes and Salvation; Blessed Faith; The Working of the <i>Nenbutsu</i> ; Living to Repay the Buddha.	The Penal Institution as a Dōjō
13	Statistics related to the Management of the Incarcerated	Collected Chaplaincy Sessions	Monthly Schedule of Chaplaincy Topics
14	--	Reference Matter: Resources on Chaplaincy, Surveys of Inmates, Information about the Penal System; Relevant Laws; Glossary of Correctional Terms; Chronology	Teaching through the Shingon Buddhist Services
15	--	--	The Character "A" and Shingon Zen

Table 6.1 Comparison of Contents of Six Chaplains' Manuals (Continued).			
	Jinja Honchō	Tenrikyō	United Church of Christ in Japan²⁵
1	Part 1: Foundations The History of Prison Chaplaincy	Preface by the Head of the Tenrikyō National Proselytization Board	On On the Publication of the Chaplain's Manual
2	Overview of the Penal Code and Corrections	Preface by the Head of the Tenrikyō Social Welfare Department	On Prison Chaplaincy
3	The Incarcerated	Chaplaincy and Corrections based on the Divine Model (<i>Oyasama no Hinagata</i>)	On Interacting with Other Sects and Religions
4	Correctional Treatment and Education	The Ideal Person According to Tenrikyō	The History of Prison Chaplaincy
5	The Mission of Prison Chaplains	The Parental Heart of <i>Oyasama</i>	
6	The Purpose and Preparations of Religious Chaplaincy	Laws Covering Chaplaincy and Tenrikyō Ideals	On the Recent Chaplaincy Activities of the United Church of Christ in Japan
7	Prison Chaplaincy Research Questions	A selection of Laws Necessary for Chaplaincy	On the Rotation of Prison Chaplains and the Interactions with Correctional Institutions
8	Part 2: Practice Essentials for the Practice of Prison Chaplaincy	The Reality and Difficulties of a Tenrikyō Approach to Rehabilitation	On the Future of Chaplaincy Activities
9	Points of Caution for Religious Lectures	The History and Present Activities of the Tenrikyō Chaplains Union	Other Matters
10	Preparations for Comprehending Religion	Examples of Tenrikyō Chaplaincy Sessions	--
11	Chaplains Need a Large Heart and an Immovable Faith	Afterword	--
12	Educational Materials for Chaplaincy	--	--
13	Reference Texts: Mission Statement for the Life of Revering the Kami; the Twelve Virtues of the Imperial Rescript on Education; Famous Words of Shinto; Prayers; the Ten Precepts for Chaplains.	--	--
14	Afterword	--	--

Source: Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei *Kyōkai Manyuaru* Hensan Inikai (1993), Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha *Kyōkaishi Hikkei* Hensan Inikai (2003), Kōya-san Shingonshū Fukyō Kenkyūsho (1994), Jinja Honchō Kyōkaishi Kenkyūkai (1999), Tenrikyō *Kyōkai no Tebiki* Hensan Inikai (1993), Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Kyōkaishikai (unpublished manuscript, received in 2016).

In each manual, the sections covering the history of the chaplaincy and the information about the operations of the correctional system and the laws governing it are

²⁵ This manual is a manuscript. It is not clear how widely circulated this manual is among Protestant Chaplains in Japan.

largely identical, and these matters have been covered in extensive detail in earlier chapters of this dissertation. Leaving aside these issues, a comparison of the doctrinal components of the prison chaplains manuals reveals that the ideals and objectives of the various prison chaplaincies continue to be structured by the Jōdo Shinshū model of “doctrinal remonstrance (教誨 *kyōkai*).” In the first chapter, I analyzed this concept in its original context in the *Larger Sutra* (大無量壽經 *Daimuryōjūkyō*) to reveal that its general structure rests on the idea that right views (正見 *shōken*) are a prerequisite for virtuous conduct in line with the Buddhist path. In the sutra, doctrinal remonstrance occurred in the context of three relationships: parents admonishing children; Buddhists admonishing non-believers to accept the doctrine of karma; and the Buddha admonishing the sovereign (implying an advisory relationship between the sangha and the political authorities). In the context of Meiji Japan, the Shin Buddhists employed the concept of doctrinal remonstrance to refer to harmonizing private interests with the priorities of the public authorities, and their discourse was generally characterized by a focus on problems of the heart (心 *kokoro*). In the postwar period, as the social role for religion was redefined in relation to the ideals of peace and the language of universal human rights, the prison chaplaincy was expanded beyond the boundaries of Jōdo Shinshū.

I argue here that the basic structure of “doctrinal remonstrance” remains intact with minor changes in the discourse of the contemporary prison chaplaincy. For example, contemporary chaplaincy discourse resonates with parental admonitions to children in that chaplains emphasize the need for inmates to grow up properly. In the contemporary chaplaincy, not only Buddhists, but *religionists* in general take up the role of admonishing non-believers and serving the sovereign authorities in an advisory capacity.

In analyzing the sectarian variations of doctrinal remonstrance below, I reveal that the various models for chaplaincy conform to the pattern established by the Shin sects.

The Shin model of prison chaplaincy is clarified in chaplains' manuals published by both the Honganji-ha and Ōtani sects. The *Jōdo Shinshū Ōtani-ha Chaplain's Manual* provides a convenient introduction to the nature of contemporary chaplaincy discourse by raising the central questions that most chaplains' manuals seek to address. The Ōtani manual attempts to derive religious meaning from the experience of crime by tying moral evil to an interpretation of the human.

Day in and day out, we hear of all sorts of crimes and the tragedies brought about through crimes. Sometimes we cannot avoid experiencing these realities ourselves. What meaning do crime and evil hold for our lives? How can we best move forward [given such phenomena]? Whether crimes are perpetrated by individuals, groups, communities, or even nations, when we have encountered them they have come to be opportunities to rethink the root of what it means to be human. If we think about it, crime and evil, rather than being simply one type of human activity, are deeply connected to the essence of what it means to be human.²⁶

The fundamental questions asked here reflect two important characteristics of chaplaincy discourse. The first question implies the general structure of a theodicy: “what meaning do crime and evil hold for our lives?” The second question is more pragmatic: “how can we move forward?” This excerpt answers both questions by pointing to the internal dimension of the human being—“crime and evil are deeply connected to the essence of what it means to be human.” The remaining theological component of the Ōtani-ha manual is devoted to introducing sectarian doctrine through such luminaries as Kiyozawa Manshi and Kaneko Daiei, but ultimately the excerpts selected for inclusion focus on the necessity for internal transformation as a response to crime and its effects. We may well

²⁶ *Shinshū no Kyōkai* Hensan Inkaï (2011), 47.

look to see how a variety of chaplain's manuals address these basic questions raised so concisely by the Ōtani-ha text.

In its attempt to derive a religious meaning from the process of crime and rehabilitation, the *Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha Chaplain's Manual* presents a logic of spiritual transformation that is predicated on the inmate's change of heart:

Inmates are people being punished for violating the law, but it is essential for a chaplain to connect to clients' feelings with kindness (慈愛) while also working to awaken their heart of repentance and atonement (懺悔贖罪の心 *zange shokuzai no kokoro*). In order to cultivate inmates who will be rehabilitated back to society into persons of sincere faith (信心の人 *shinjin no hito*) who maintain some degree of the spirit of service, it is necessary to put all of one's power into the tireless study of doctrine and the practice of the methods of chaplaincy.²⁷

According to the logic of this text, crime is presented as flowing from the hearts of human beings, and it is through engagement with the heart that the chaplain must promote an inmate's reform. Thus, the role of the chaplain is to lead inmates with kindness to a change of heart, and this in turn will enable the inmate to awaken his own heart of repentance and atonement (懺悔贖罪の心 *zange shokuzai no kokoro*). The chaplains' responsibilities are defined in relation to the production of a particular state of conscience, and it is this idealized state that is thought to catalyze correctional rehabilitation. This transformation is then associated with both religious salvation and correctional rehabilitation. Of the doctrinal concept "sincere faith" or *shinjin*, the *Glossary of Shin Buddhist Terms* states, "[*shinjin*] lies at the heart of Shinran's Buddhism, for it signifies the attainment of Buddhahood. Shinran's teaching, then, is not one of salvation through "faith," for *shinjin* is not a means to salvation but salvation itself."²⁸

²⁷ Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha *Kyōkaishi Hikkei* hensan iinkai (2003), 69.

²⁸ Hirota (1997) vol. 2, 206-7.

Whether or not the writers of the chaplains' manual had this meaning in mind, it is certain that their interpretation adds a consideration of the social function of the sincere faith that is *shinjin*: inmates of faith will be rehabilitated back into society where they can be expected to make a social contribution. In this framing, religious salvation and correctional rehabilitation are mapped onto each other, and the role of the chaplain is defined as cultivating inmates who will be redeemed both spiritually and socially. The doctrinal concept of salvation and reintegration into the social body are framed as two sides of the same coin.

The *Kōya-san Shingonshū Chaplain's Manual* provides a detailed annual calendar of topics for their chaplains that amounts to a complete curriculum. Although it is not clear to what extent Kōya-san chaplains follow this calendar, the calendar does give a sense as to how a year of Shingon chaplaincy sessions might run.

Month	Topic	Objectives
January	The heart of repentance 懺悔の心 <i>zange no kokoro</i>	The first month is the month of new beginnings. Through repentance, inmates may develop new plans for their lives during this month. In other words, repentance is the start of a new phase. Inmates should be instructed that self-examination to prevent the same mistakes is an important step towards rehabilitation.
February	The harmonious heart 協調の心 <i>chōwa no kokoro</i>	Cooperation is important in the communal life of the prison. If one acts only for one's own ideas and asserts oneself then it will be difficult to maintain order and smooth human relations in the prison. Inmates should be instructed to try to think about things from the perspective of other people and to try to cultivate the heart of cooperation.

March	Following the rules 規律を守る <i>kiritsu wo mamoru</i>	Rules are necessary for human life. In the family, in society, and in the workplace—everywhere that human beings gather together, rules are formed. Those rules are meaningful because they play an important role in ensuring order and because they provide a rhythm to life. A life with a rhythm can be a life with hope and ease. Inmates should be instructed to acclimatize themselves to a life bound by rules.
April	The heart of service 奉仕の心 <i>hōshi no kokoro</i>	It is difficult for human beings to suppress their desires (欲望 <i>yokubō</i>). These desires can keep the self (自己 <i>jiko</i>) enslaved. Unless one can escape the imprisonment of the self, one will always suffer in the world of samsara. Inmates should be instructed that the through cultivating the heart of service they may be able to overcome the fetters that bind the self.
May	Living in the light 明るく生きる <i>akakruku ikiru</i>	Kōbō Daishi says, “If one ventures forth with a darkened heart, disasters await everywhere. If one looks with brightness [眼明らかなる <i>me akiraka naru</i>], then everyone encountered along the way bears treasure.” If one thinks darkly upon one’s life, this will sow the seeds of misfortune. On the other hand, the other way of looking at the world can not only change one’s mind—it can change the world. Teach inmates that whatever their role may be, they should live with a bright [attitude].

June	Gratitude for blessings 恵みに感謝 <i>megumi ni kansha</i>	For plants, the sixth month is the month of growth. During the rainy season, they mature and their life force becomes active. Thanks to the water, they are able to continue their life. Inmates should be encouraged to feel gratitude for the bounty of nature.
July	Repaying Debts 恩を報いる <i>on wo mukuiru</i>	The character for debt (恩 <i>on</i>) consists of the character for cause (因 <i>in</i>) and the character for heart (心 <i>kokoro</i>). If one thinks about one's present state, one should understand that one is dependent on a greater life force (生命 <i>seimei</i>), and this greater life keeps the self alive (生かされている <i>ikasareteiru</i>). If one awakens to this fact, it is possible to act in such a way as to encourage others to live fully. This is to repay one's debt [to the Buddha]. Inmates should be instructed to live in such a way that they practice repaying their debts to the best of their ability.
August	The reverential heart 敬いの心 <i>uyamai no kokoro</i>	The character for reverence (敬 <i>kei</i>) depicts the act of bowing and refers to reverential behavior. Children greet their teachers like this, and juniors greet their superiors in this manner. It is important to practice reverence for one another in our daily lives. Going one step further, inmates should be instructed to learn the value of a heart of reverence for kami and buddhas (神仏に敬い心 <i>shinbutsu ni uyamai kokoro</i>).

September	The health of the heart 心の健康 <i>kokoro no kenkō</i>	Human beings suffer from the blind passions of greed, hatred, and ignorance. These do not only injure the hearts of the individual, they also bring various forms of suffering upon others by motivating the individual to act in harmful ways. In order to protect the health of the heart, the individual must cultivate the heart of repentance, the heart of gratitude, and the heart of repaying debts. These serve to provide sustenance to the heart. Inmates should be instructed to live a lifestyle that is healthy for the heart and the body.
October	The heart of veneration 合掌の心 <i>gasshō no kokoro</i>	In India and the Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia, people greet one another by the <i>gasshō</i> gesture of respect. This gesture reflects the true heart of humanity (誠の人間の心 <i>makoto no ningen no kokoro</i>). This gesture of veneration is the foundation of humanity, and it is to be treasured. If one's hands are clasped together in veneration, it is not possible to fight, but one can pray for others. Inmates should be instructed to harmonize their bodies and their hearts as physical form affects the heart and the heart too affects the physical form.
November	The joy of work 働く喜び <i>hataraku yorokobi</i>	Labor is not only a means of earning money. Work can be a source of joy, and a grateful heart can arise from the reflection that one is healthy enough to work. Inmates should be instructed of the value of a complete happiness (完全な喜び <i>kanzen na yorokobi</i>) that can arise through being useful to the people of the world.
December	The heart of prayer. 祈りの心 <i>inori no kokoro</i>	In the twelfth month, we mark the completion of the past year and prepare to greet the new year. Inmates should be instructed to feel gratitude towards the many people who have supported and aided them over the past year. Though inmates may not reach out to contact the important people in their lives, they can offer prayers to benefit those people. Inmates should be instructed about the heart of prayer.

Source: Kōya-san Shingonshū Fukyō Kenkyūshō (1994), 144-6.

This calendar of classes includes both doctrinal topics (April: “the Heart of Service”) and general admonitions to obey the rules (March: “Following the Rules”). That the title for the topic for seven out of twelve months includes the character for heart indicates that the Shingon chaplaincy, like the Shin chaplaincies, retains a focus on the hearts of the incarcerated.

Though the doctrinal framework of Shingon differs significantly from that of the Pure Land sects, the Kōya-san Shingonshū chaplains’ manual makes it clear that the Shingon chaplaincy fits within the structure of the prison institution by providing a doctrinal framework for shaping the private, internal lives of the inmates. In the case of the Shingon chaplaincy, this framework is defined in relation to the practice of three mysteries that can purify the karma produced by thoughts, words, and deeds (身口意の三密修行 *shinkui no sanmitsu shugyō*).²⁹ The October session focuses on the heart and the *gasshō* mudra, and its description reflects this underlying doctrinal principle: “Inmates should be instructed to harmonize their bodies and their hearts as physical form affects the heart and the heart too affects the physical form.”³⁰ The doctrinal dimension is then coupled with the general instructions to obey the rules of the prison, as seen in the March session: “[R]ules are meaningful because they play an important role in ensuring order and because they provide a rhythm to life. A life with a rhythm can be a life with hope and ease. Inmates should be instructed to acclimatize themselves to a life bound by rules.” The rhythm of the prison institution appears to be implicitly compared to the rhythm of life in a monastic institution, and the doctrinal framework of karma is added to

²⁹ Kōya-san Shingonshū Fukyō Kenkyūshō (1994), 148.

³⁰ In an interview with a Shingon chaplain conducted at the All Shingon Chaplains’ Retreat in November of 2014, a Shingon chaplain used virtually the same expression when I asked him the purpose of prison chaplaincy.

this picture so as to suggest that the rules of the institution be internalized as a means of purifying the heart of the individual.

Konkōkyō was founded in 1859 by Konkō Daijin (金光大神 1814-1883) in present day Okayama Prefecture, and today it is registered as a Shintō sect. The *Konkōkyō Chaplain's Manual* provides a clear example of the development of a non-Buddhist variety of prison chaplaincy that maintains characteristics of the Shin Buddhist model. The manual opens with a declaration of the purpose of prison chaplaincy:

The goal of chaplaincy is defined as cultivating the virtues (徳性を涵養し *tokusei wo kanyō shi*) of the incarcerated so that they may rehabilitate into good citizens (善良な市民 *zenryō na shimin*) through [cultivating] a faith of their choosing [...]. Thus, those among the incarcerated who seek out the Konkōkyō faith may encounter the faith of our prison chaplains and thereby increase their own virtues as much as possible. They will thus improve their peace of heart (心情の安定 *shinjō no antei*), and they will reform as good persons (良き人間 *yoki ningen*) so that they may return society and participate in useful work (お役に立つ働き *oyaku ni tatsu hataraki*) as children of the kami (神の氏子 *kami no ujiko*). As they grow (成長していく *seichō shite iku*) in this way, the fruits of correctional rehabilitation shall appear. This is the meaning and purpose of our prison chaplaincy activities.³¹

In the official rhetoric of the Konkōkyō version of prison chaplaincy, the goals of the chaplaincy are defined in relation to the cultivation of virtues through faith for the purposes of correctional rehabilitation. Four items listed in succession imply a linkage between the goals of corrections and the goals of the faith. First, inmates who meet with Konkōkyō chaplains can expect to improve their own peace of heart (心情の安定 *shinjō no antei*);³² second, they should reform as good persons (良き人間 *yoki ningen*); third,

³¹ Konkōkyō Kyōkaishi Renmei, ed. (2005), 1.

³² Though this term is used in the law solely in the context of death row inmates, chaplains appear to use it more broadly to refer to their activities. At several chaplain's meetings over the course of my fieldwork I heard chaplains invoke this concept with no relation to death row. The Konkōkyō manual appears to reflect this general usage.

they should return to society and participate in useful work (お役に立つ働き *oyaku ni tatsu hataraki*). Finally, these objectives—broadly secular in their orientation—are associated with the Konkōkyō theory of the human that considers all persons to be equal children of the kami (神の氏子 *kami no ujiko*). The implication is that a person’s recognition of the divine origins of the human should in turn contribute to socially productive activity. Finally, this realization is described as a process of maturation: “As they grow (成長していく *seichō shite iku*) in this way, the fruits of correctional rehabilitation shall appear.” This text reveals a focus on the conventional virtues of hard work, thrift, diligence, (and honesty), and it is thus broadly representative of the worldliness of salvation in the new religions of Japan.³³ The focus is on the cultivation of ethics in daily life.

The Konkōkyō manual provides suggestions as to how chaplains ought to interact with persons who have committed crimes based on anecdotes from the life stories of the religion’s founder. For example, the Konkōkyō manual includes the following story of Konkō Daijin:

In the works of Konkō Daijin, there is not a specific reference to the incarcerated, but there are several suggestions for how believers should interact with persons³⁴ who have committed crimes. [...] In the tale of the robber (盗人 *nusubito*), Konkō Daijin writes, “When I think about where this outlaw’s life is heading, it is pitiful, and I pray that his heart will somehow return to the good (善心に立ち返り *zenshin ni tachikaeri*) [...] Pray to the kami that he may return to his original heart (本心に立ち返り *honshin ni tachikaeri*) and find honest work (正業に就くよう *seigyō ni tsuku yō*).” [...] This way of interacting with persons who have committed crimes is the foundation of our prison chaplaincy activities.³⁵

³³ On Konkō Daijin see Murakami (1975), 71-110. On the worldliness of salvation in the new religions of Japan, see Tsushima et al (1979). On conventional morality, see Yasumaru (1999).

³⁴ 氏子 *ujiko*, i.e. children of god, brothers and sisters.

³⁵ Konkōkyō Kyōkaishi Renmei, ed. (2005), 1-2.

According to the teaching of Konkō Daijin, all human beings share the heart of the kami just like the founder himself—the problem, then, appears to be whether or not an individual realizes this reality.³⁶ Thus, in the anecdote of the robber, Konkō Daijin writes that he prays that the offender’s “heart will somehow return to the good (善心に立ち返り *zenshin ni tachikaeri*),” and that he may “return to his original heart (本心に立ち返り *honshin ni tachikaeri*) and find honest work (正業に就くよう *seigyō ni tsuku yō*).” The doctrinal logic implied here holds that the heart of the human is originally good, but that its energies can be misdirected, thereby resulting in crime. In the case of the Konkōkyō chaplaincy, this anecdote from the founder’s life provides the basis for a general orientation towards thinking about people who have committed crimes. They are to be pitied and not scorned, and they are also to be recognized as human beings endowed with inherent dignity because they too are the children of kami (*kami no ujiko*).

The Konkōkyō chaplain’s manual also provides practical advice about how chaplains might proceed effectively with their efforts to encourage rehabilitation.

The text cites a survey of inmates conducted by the Corrections Office:

According to a general survey, there are things a chaplain can do that can contribute to an inmate’s internalization of faith to lead him towards rehabilitation and salvation (信仰が内面化され、更生・救済に導かれていく *shinkō ga naimenka sare, kōsei-kyūsai ni michibikarete iku*). These are reported to be: supporting the change to a correct religious awareness (正しい宗教認識 *tadashii shūkyō ninshiki*); generating thoughts of reverence for kami and buddhas; cultivating a consciousness that values life; fostering a heart of sympathy, consideration, and pity; and the provision of a religious worldview and values (宗教的人生観・価値観 *shūkyōteki jinseikan-kachikan*). All of this has been made clear by a survey of inmates who have been rehabilitated and saved.³⁷

³⁶ Inaba in Inoue (2007), 73.

³⁷ Konkōkyō *Kyōkaishi Renmei* (2005), 10. The text does not cite the source of the study presented here.

The practical guidance suggested here instructs chaplains as to the most effective methods for pursuing the hyphenated goal of “rehabilitation-salvation (更生・救済 *kōsei-kyūsai*).” What is most significant is to achieve the internalization (内面化 *naimenka*) of faith which will result in both religious salvation and correctional rehabilitation. The methods described are various strategies for influencing an offender’s sense of their own subjectivity: for example, through the provision of a correct religious awareness (正しい宗教認識 *tadashii shūkyō ninshiki*) or the provision of a religious worldview and values (宗教的人生観・価値観 *shūkyōteki jinseikan-kachikan*). Ultimately, the official discourse of the Konkōkyō prison chaplaincy, like that of Shingon and the Shin sects, relies on a linkage between the sect’s own soteriology and the goals of correctional rehabilitation. Here too, religion is associated with the formation of subjectivity or conscience, and it is through this influence that the perceived power of religion to effect the rehabilitation of offenders derives its strength.

The *Tenrikyō Chaplains’ Manual* provides another example of a non-Buddhist version of prison chaplaincy that reflects some of the characteristics of the Shin model. Tenrikyō (f. 1838) is neither a Buddhist nor a Shinto religion, and it owes its origins to the teachings of Nakayama Miki (中山みき 1798-1887), a peasant woman from what is now Tenri City in Nara Prefecture. The Tenrikyō manual provides a concise statement of what might be called the Tenrikyō version of the doctrine of karma.³⁸ It is upon this doctrinal foundation that the Tenrikyō interpretation of crime and rehabilitation rests:

³⁸ Tenrikyō members do not refer to this doctrine as a doctrine of karma, but there are scholarly precedents for doing so. First, Robert Kisala refers to “Contemporary Karma: Interpretations of Karma in Tenrikyō and Risshō Kōseikai” in an article for the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* published in 1994. Second, the structuralist anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere has attempted to identify worldviews that rest on

In the words of *kami-sama* [the Founder Nakayama Miki], it is taught that this world is a path to extinguish one's store of pastlife causes and connections (因縁納消の道 *innen nasshō no michi*). The aim of correctional education in our doctrine is to extinguish a past of crime, to [help people to] change for the better and become *Yōboku* (よふぼく),³⁹ and through our efforts to help others we can cultivate people who will make a contribution to society.

Tanabe Hajime writes, "History is not a timely process of cause and effect that flows only in one direction. A decision made today about one's own future may lead to the commission of a crime, but this in turn could become a necessary condition for the good result of a person's eventual salvation."⁴⁰

In the Tenrikyō model of prison chaplaincy, crime is rendered existentially meaningful in light of the doctrine of past-life causes and connections (因縁納消 *innen nasshō*). By making reparations for a past of crime, offenders may become full members of Tenrikyō (*Yōboku*—literally “good timbers”) and also “people who will make a contribution to society.” Here, the return to society and the attainment of full membership in Tenrikyō are presented as ideal goals for inmates who meet with Tenrikyō chaplains.

As the citation from Buddhist philosopher Tanabe Hajime suggests, the Tenrikyō concept of past-life causes and connections or *innen* is not unrelated to the Buddhist doctrine of karma that undergirds the Buddhist versions of prison chaplaincy. The Tenrikyō Encyclopedia situates *innen* within the broader context of Tenrikyō doctrine as follows:

visions of rebirth but do not share Indian origins. He uses the term karma to describe Amerindian and Greek interpretations of rebirth in addition to Indian beliefs. See Obeyesekere (2002).

³⁹ *Yōboku* (よふぼく) means literally “Good Timber.” It is the term used for a fully-initiated adult member of Tenrikyō who has completed the full course of *Besseki* (別席) lectures. Many of the metaphors of Tenrikyō soteriology are drawn from agricultural work and carpentry. Nakayama Miki herself was from a farming household, and her successor, the True Mediator (*Honseki* ほんせき), Iburi Izō was a carpenter.

⁴⁰ Tenrikyō Kyōkai no Tebiki Hensan Iinkai (1995), 50.

Everything in this life arises as a result of past life causes and connections (いんねん *innen*).⁴¹ Tenrikyō teaches that the parental heart of *kami-sama* wants for humans to live a joyous life (陽気ぐらし *yōki gurashi*) by awakening to our original cause (元のいんねん *moto no innen* [i.e. divine origins as children of the kami]) so that we may reform the evil ways of using our hearts (悪しき心遣い *ashiki kokoro-zukai*). We also teach that human life is not limited to one single life, but that it continues in a chain of rebirths. Thus, the original soul (本来の魂 *honrai no tamashii*) accumulates the [dusts] that arise from evil ways of using our hearts, and as a result we move further away from the protections of *kami-sama* and the joyous life. [...] We teach that the way (お道 *omichi*) of Tenrikyō is to purify the dusts that cloud our hearts and to fulfill that which is required by our past-life causes and connections in order to remove the roots of illness and the sources of unhappiness so that we may live with our original, free hearts (本来の自由の心 *honrai no jiyū no kokoro*).⁴²

The Tenrikyō doctrine of past life causes and connections that underpins the theology of their chaplaincy is clearly situated within a broader framework that suggests the meaning of human life is to be found in the purification of the heart. This purification amounts to “reforming the evil ways of using our hearts (悪しき心遣い *ashiki kokoro-zukai*),” or returning to “our original, free hearts (本来の自由の心 *honrai no jiyū no kokoro*).” Thus, the Tenrikyō prison chaplaincy, like the Buddhist chaplaincies and the Konkōkyō chaplaincy presented above, retains a focus on the heart. Crime arises from evil ways of using the heart, and this evil in turn clouds the heart by contributing to the buildup of dust. The eight dusts (八つのほこり *yattsu no hokori*) that cloud the heart are miserliness, greed, hatred, self-love, grudge-bearing, anger, covetousness, and arrogance.⁴³ Within this soteriological framework, the goal is to return to the original, clear, and bright heart

⁴¹ As the encyclopedia notes, the term *innen* is sometimes written with kanji characters and sometimes with the hiragana syllabary.

⁴² See the entry for *innen* in TKJT (1997), 63-4.

⁴³ をしい、ほしい、にくい、かわい、うらみ、ほらだち、よく、こうまん. See TKJT (1997) entry for *hokori*.

so that one may live the joyous life. Moreover, this process of self-purification also contributes to a person's correctional rehabilitation.

Finally, the *National Chaplain's Union Chaplain's Manual* is not a sectarian work, but the perspective included therein does reflect the numerical and historical dominance of Shin Buddhists in the prison chaplaincy. Like the other manuals examined so far, the theological components of this manual derive an existential meaning from the crime and rehabilitation process. However, there is also a nuanced discussion of the difficulties of being a prison chaplain that evinces a religious interpretation of the chaplain's own struggles. This passage is noteworthy for its application of a religious interpretation of suffering to the chaplain's own experiences.

The reform and rehabilitation work of the chaplaincy (改過遷善 *kaika senzen*) is a worthwhile life of unfathomable karma (業の深い *gō no fukai*) and difficult education. For a chaplain, when an inmate awakens to rehabilitation, it can be so moving that the chaplain won't forget the feeling for the rest of his life. At such a time, when the chaplain leaves the prison and stands before the gate, his heart can be so filled with gratitude for the fortunate karma of having become a chaplain that he will bow deeply.

However, although it is a happy thing if society will warmly receive a rehabilitated person, it is certainly not the case that all instances will be so. Among those who are released, there are some who have had connections to criminal organizations from before prison, and though they leave the institution, it is as though they are already surrounded and unfree. Some return to live with their criminal organization. These inevitably reoffend and spend their lives in and out of the prison system. This is extremely lamentable, but there is nothing we can do about this reality. Such cases will vex chaplains for their entire lives, and they are a serious problem.

Among chaplains, there are some of us who have gone so far as to invite former inmates to live with us in our temples and churches—but if a client has relations with a criminal organization, no matter how hard a chaplain tries, against the workings of the organization, in the end there is nothing we can do. On this point, my heart is filled with grief. It is extremely painful.

However, even the ones who go back to the organization, they will certainly not discard the inspiration they received from the chaplaincy. They have tasted deeply of eternal life—but even if they are saved by the Kami and Buddhas,

if it is within a person's karmic destiny (業縁 *gōen*), then any karma can happen (どんな業もおこる *donna gō mo okoru*).⁴⁴

This discussion of the difficulties faced by prison chaplains represents an exercise in theodicy: an existential meaning is derived from the suffering of the chaplains themselves. The phenomenon discussed in this excerpt reflects cases wherein one of the chaplain's charges appears to rehabilitate only to slip into recidivism after release. Unlike much of the official discourse of the prison chaplaincy, this passage suggests that the structure of society contributes to the failure of correctional rehabilitation: "although it is a happy thing if society will warmly receive a rehabilitated person, it is certainly not the case that all instances will be so." However, this assertion is immediately followed by resignation: "This is extremely lamentable, but there is nothing we can do about this reality. Such cases will vex chaplains for their entire lives."

Here, a structural problem with the correctional system is acknowledged, but the capacity of the individual to initiate some political change to alter this structure is denied. Instead, the problem of recidivism is explained in both sociological and doctrinal terms. First, there is an account of recidivism at the level of sociological analysis with reference to the criminal organization: "against the workings of the organization, in the end there is nothing we can do." Second, a doctrinal explanation of the situation is applied: "if it is within a person's karmic destiny (業縁 *gōen*), then any karma can happen (どんな業もおこる *donna gō mo okoru*)." There is a two-tiered structure for thinking about crime implied in this passage: there are both material causes for crime or recidivism and metaphysical explanations for the same. Finally, an attempt is made to assert the value of a chaplain's efforts at the metaphysical level even if the correctional goal has fallen

⁴⁴Zenkoku Kyōkaishi Renmei *Kyōkai Manyuaru Hensan Iinkai* (1993): 85-6.

through: “even the ones who go back to the organization, they will certainly not discard the inspiration they received from the chaplaincy. They have tasted deeply of eternal life.” This final step divides the religious goal of salvation from the correctional goal of rehabilitation, suggesting that there is more to the religious objectives of the chaplaincy than simply offering religious instruction as a means of supporting the operations of the correctional system.

The chaplains’ manuals are unified by a host of shared features. These are suggested by questions raised in the Ōtani-ha manual: what is the religious significance of crime? What can we do about it? Chaplains’ sermons, journals, and manuals all take up these topics at length. Broadly stated, the discourse of the chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) shares three general characteristics: 1.) a functionalist logic that sees religion as a possible cause of rehabilitation; 2.) claims about the existential meaning of the crime and rehabilitation process that consistently return to the theme of rectifying the heart; and 3.) assertions about the existential meaning of the practice of chaplaincy itself. Each religious organization participating in chaplaincy sees the religious meaning of the crime and rehabilitation process in light of its own doctrine. In the Ōtani-ha text, evil is connected to the essence of the human. In the Tenrikyō text, this world is a path to extinguish one’s store of past-life causes and connections. The Honganji-ha text presents the goal of reform as obtaining *shinjin*—the heart of faith. Thus, on the one hand, each of these texts asserts that religious commitment can impact a person’s correctional rehabilitation (i.e. a functionalist interpretation of religion is at work), but on the other hand, the interpretation of what constitutes salvation (from a doctrinal perspective) differs according to the theology of each group. For example, Tenrikyō is not invested in the

idea that the essence of the human is evil, but for the Pure Land chaplains, acknowledging innate evil opens the door to salvation through Other-power (他力 *Tariki*).

Despite these theological differences, the chaplaincy theories presented in the manuals of each sect share the conviction that violating the law of the state is also an ethical transgression. This is coupled with the assertion that the internalization of the sect's doctrine can encourage the offender to live in harmony with the law. In this way, these texts appear to continue the Shin tradition of complementarity between the dharma and the law of the state. The principle of complementarity has been universalized such that the role for religion (not just the dharma) is defined in relation to harmonizing the private realm of the heart with the priorities established by the state (the criminal justice system). However, as the last excerpt from the *National Chaplain's Union Chaplain's Manual* indicates, the goals of the prison chaplaincy are not reducible to the purpose of serving the correctional system. In what follows, I introduce fieldwork to show how the practice of prison chaplains complicates the picture presented in the official rhetoric of the chaplains' manuals.

Chaplaincy Sessions

Table 6.2 summarizes the chaplaincy sessions I observed over the course of this research. I attended a total of ten chaplaincy sessions: two in the summer of 2012, and another eight during an extended research trip between July of 2014 and August of 2016. Eight of the sessions I attended were “religious chaplaincy sessions” (宗教教誨 *shūkyō kyōkai*) conducted for inmates who had requested permission to attend, and two were

“general chaplaincy sessions” (一般教誨 *ippan kyōkai*) in which inmates were required to participate.

My visits were arranged with the help of prison chaplains who introduced me to prison staff. Though it is not typical for foreign researchers to attend chaplaincy sessions, prison chaplains are often trained by shadowing other chaplains as they conduct their chaplaincy sessions. I was typically instructed by prison staff not to interact with inmates, but in one individual chaplaincy session conducted by a Christian minister in 2012, I was invited to participate in the conversation with the inmate and the chaplain, and the inmate asked me directly “are you a Christian minister also?” Though I cannot know how my presence was generally perceived, it appears that this man imagined I must be a junior chaplain in training.

All of the sessions listed were conducted in designated chapel spaces located within the prisons (with the exception of the Kawagoe Juvenile Prison general chaplaincy session which was conducted in a classroom). The facilities I visited include one Juvenile Prison (Kawagoe), two Detention Houses (Tokyo and Tachikawa), and Japan’s largest prison (Fuchū Prison). All of these correctional facilities are located in the Greater Tokyo Area.

Sect	Facility	Description	Date
Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan	Fuchū Prison	Group session; religious chaplaincy; sermon and Bible reading from the Book of Matthew. The theme was “faith and the keys to heaven.” Individual Sessions; religious chaplaincy.	August 2012.

Jōdoshū	Tachikawa Detention House	Two individual sessions; religious chaplaincy; one religious counseling session; one memorial rite for the departed.	August 2012.
Jōdo Shinshū	Kawagoe Juvenile Prison	Introductory session for newly admitted inmates. Group session. General chaplaincy session. The theme was “cosmology and the significance of human life.”	April 2014.
Tenrikyō	Fuchū Prison	Group session; religious chaplaincy; Fall Festival of Souls (<i>Aki no Mitama Matsuri</i>). Three chaplains participated.	September 2015.
Shingonshū	Tokyo Detention House	Group session; general chaplaincy for all female inmates; officially a secular brush writing workshop (<i>shodō</i>), but inmates engaged in sutra copying (<i>shakyō</i>) with the <i>Heart Sutra</i> .	December 2015.
Sōtōshū	Fuchū Prison	Group session; religious chaplaincy; <i>zazen</i> followed by dharma talk about the purification of the heart.	January 2016.
Jōdo Shinshū	Tokyo Detention House	Group session; religious chaplaincy session. Readings on the life of the Buddha and an article from the priest’s temple’s circular. The theme was “growing up.”	
Nichirenshū	Tokyo Detention House	Group session; religious chaplaincy; dharma talk about the purification of karma through chanting the <i>daimoku</i> .	February 2016
Shrine Shinto	Tachikawa Detention House	Group session; religious chaplaincy; <i>Oharai</i> and lecture about the bright heart (<i>akaki kokoro</i>).	June 2016.
Shrine Shinto	Fuchū Prison	Group session; religious chaplaincy; summer rite of purification (<i>nagoshi no harai</i>) and lecture.	June 2016.

In the preceding section, I introduced representations of prison chaplaincy from chaplains’ manuals. During my prison visits, I found that the contents (discourse and practice) of prison chaplaincy sessions on the ground generally conform to the models established in chaplains’ manuals. In particular, I found that chaplains consistently emphasize the need for inmate’s to rectify their hearts (心 *kokoro*) during their chaplaincy sessions. In eight out of ten sessions I observed, the chaplain explained the

existential significance of correctional rehabilitation as a matter of purifying the heart (the exceptions were the writing workshop and the Protestant minister's sermon). The doctrinal interpretations of this process differed by sect. All Buddhist chaplains invoked the concept of karma in one form or another during the course of their work in order to explain personal moral responsibility and the existential meaning of correctional rehabilitation. The chaplains from non-Buddhist religious groups did not generally invoke karma directly, but they did invoke other forms of theodicy (religious interpretations of crime as a form of moral evil). These interpretations invariably situated the source of evil in disharmony within the hearts of individuals. Chaplains then offered either a sectarian teaching or a practice to help inmates to attain purity of heart.

I introduce here three examples of chaplaincy sessions: Jinja Honchō, Tenrikyō, and Shingon. In all three cases, the heart (*kokoro*) is the central theme of the day's session—though in the Shingon session, this theme remains implicit (or esoteric). The Tenrikyō and Jinja Honchō excerpts reflect the chaplains' sermons. The Shingon excerpt is an account of a calligraphy (書道 *shodō*) workshop.

Jinja Honchō. Tachikawa Jail. Religious Chaplaincy. Group Session (with only one participant). Lecture about the Bright Heart. June, 2016.

The chaplain held up a card with the character for sincere heart (真心 *magokoro*) written on it.

“Although it is said that Shintō lacks a teaching, I want to emphasize that in Shintō, the sincere heart is of the utmost importance. What do you think about this? Do you think that you have such a heart at the present time?”

Client: “This is what I am struggling (葛藤 *kattō*) with right now. Sometimes I think I could have such a heart, but sometimes I think I might not be able to do it.”

“It's like that. That's because you are a human being. This sincere heart is an ideal. We could call it a goal. Here's another card.”

The chaplain held up a card bearing two words, the characters for “bright heart” and “red heart” (明心 *akaki kokoro*, 赤心 *akaki kokoro*).

“Both of these say bright heart. This is another term for the good heart. Now, what about the opposite of the good heart?”

The next card bore two more synonymously compounds: these meant “polluted heart” (濁心 *kitanaki kokoro*, 黒心 *kitanaki kokoro*).

“This says polluted heart. This is the evil heart. Every day, we human beings are stuck fighting between the good heart and the evil. This is our struggle (葛藤 *kattō*). It is the same for everyone.

Think about your own case. Now here you are, stuck in this facility, and you yourself said you are struggling (葛藤 *kattō*)—but you must not allow yourself to lose out to the polluted heart. Please pray for the bright heart to win, and please do your best to make sure that it does.”

The next card bore a term familiar to students of Japanese literature: “spirit of words” (言霊 *kotodama*).

“This says spirit of words. From ancient times, people have believed that a special spiritual power lies in words. The idea is that words have a soul of their own. It was thought that positive words could carry things in a good direction, and that evil words could carry things in an evil one. In part, the impact of words is something we see in our own hearts. If we use words that carry the meanings of this bright heart, then that heart grows within us. On the other hand, if we use words that carry the meanings of a polluted heart, then that heart will grow within us too.

[...]

The truth is, I think that words do have a real power even in daily life within this facility. There are words like “thank you” to express gratitude, and words, like “I am sorry” to express remorse when one makes a mistake. These words that express the intention (意 *i*) of gratitude (感謝 *kansha*) or that of remorseful introspection (反省 *hansei*) are also imbued with the power of the spirit of words. The way one uses words has the power to transform one’s heart (*kokoro*). Through the power of words, one can cultivate the Sincere Heart. Please put your effort into this.

Analysis

In the Shinto chaplaincy session outlined above, the chaplain relied on metaphors of the heart to describe the human condition. The “bright heart” and “red heart” (明心 *akaki kokoro*, 赤心 *akaki kokoro*) were presented as images of the good, and the “polluted heart” (濁心 *kitanaki kokoro*, 黒心 *kitanaki kokoro*) was invoked as a representation of evil. Repeating the inmate’s own words back to him, the chaplain asserted that the human condition is fundamentally a manichean struggle (葛藤 *kattō*) between bright and dark impulses emerging from these two hearts. The chaplain then offered advice about how this struggle can be managed based on the literary concept of

the “spirit of words” (言霊 *kotodama*). He asserted that words express intentions (意 *i*), and that the way one uses words has the power to transform the heart (心 *kokoro*). Words thus have the power to strengthen either the bright heart or the polluted heart. Words of gratitude (感謝 *kansha*) or remorseful introspection (反省 *hansei*) were suggested as means of promoting the bright heart. Ultimately, the underlying assumption is that the more a person gives voice to certain intentions, the more those intentions grow.

Tenrikyō. Fuchū Prison. Religious Chaplaincy.

Group Session. Fall Festival of Souls (*Aki no Mitama Matsuri*). September, 2015.

“Thank you all for coming here today to memorialize your parents and ancestors. I am sure that their spirits must be pleased to see your sincere prayers. The Autumn Festival of Souls (秋の御霊祭 *aki no mitama matsuri*) corresponds roughly to the Buddhist *Higan* holiday. We are here to venerate the spirits of our ancestors and parents and those with whom we have some close connection (縁 *en*). So, the theme for today’s sermon will be the Tenrikyō view of life and death (死生観 *shiseikan*).

In Tenrikyō, we believe that our physical body is a thing borrowed (借り物 *karimono*) from God. Our doctrine holds that the only thing that is truly our own is our hearts (心 *kokoro*). Our souls (魂 *tamashii*) cannot be seen, but God has lent our souls these physical bodies so that we could return to this world. In Tenrikyō, this doctrine is known as the “Principle of a Thing Lent and a Thing Borrowed” (貸し物・借り物の理 *Kashimono Karimono no Ri*). We also believe that death is really departing for rebirth (出直し *denaoshi*). Life is not something that just goes around one time. Dying is the start of a new life.

In Tenrikyō, we teach that in this life we are working out our store of past-life causes and connections (因縁納消 *innen nasshō*). The deeds we do and the way we use our hearts are distinct from the physical body, and [our hearts and deeds are] connected to the life before and to the next. The good that we do comes back, and the evil that we do comes back too.

I have come to think of this [remnant] as something like a savings account with the divine bank (神様銀行の貯金通帳 *kami-sama ginkō no chokin tsūchō*) that is built into our souls. Anybody would be glad if their savings increase, right? I believe that God watches over us and sees how we use our hearts every day and how we behave. I think that when we act to make others happy and to help others, then our moral savings increase, and when we do the opposite, our savings are depleted. There is no point in saying ‘I am too old, I can’t turn it around now.’ Why? Because the soul continues to live, and the balance with the heavenly savings account (天の通帳銀行の残高 *ama no tsūchō ginkō no zandaka*) influences one’s future lives. If I put this heavenly savings account

metaphor into religious language, I might be able to refer to it as virtue (徳 *toku*). I certainly hope for each of you that you will work to increase your moral savings, to develop virtue in your souls.

In Tenrikyō, we share the collective goal of trying to realize an ideal world [where people can enjoy the] joyous life (陽気ぐらしという世界 *Yōki Gurashi to iu sekai*). The joyous life means making a world where all people help each other and live in cooperation. There are, however, ways of the heart that obstruct the goal of Joyous Living, and in Tenrikyō we teach that these obstructions are the eight dusts (八つほこり *yatsu hokori*): miserliness, greed, hatred, self-love, grudge-bearing, anger, covetousness, and arrogance.⁴⁵

These dusts build up every day, but we call them dusts because through some simple cleaning they can be taken care of. However, if the dusts build up too much, it becomes difficult to clean them up. For this reason we are taught that it is important to clean the dusts from one's heart every day.

Analysis

To mark the occasion of the Autumn Festival of Souls (秋の御霊祭 *aki no mitama matsuri*), this Tenrikyō chaplain gave a speech about his religion's view of life and death (死生観 *shiseikan*) with reference to the concept of our physical body as a thing borrowed (借り物 *karimono*) from God. According to this doctrine, the physical body is born and dies, but some non-physical component of the human being remains alive throughout a chain of connected rebirths. The essence of the human is associated with the non-physical dimension of the heart (心 *kokoro*) and the soul (魂 *tamashii*). In this framework, the actions undertaken in each incarnation are held to be recorded in the heart so that they will bear an influence over the course of subsequent rebirths. The chaplain refers to this doctrine as the teaching of past-life causes and connections (因縁納消 *innen nasshō*). He offered his own interpretation of this teaching by referring to “a savings account with the divine bank (神様銀行の貯金通帳 *kami-sama ginkō no chokin*

⁴⁵ をしい、ほしい、にくい、かわい、うらみ、ほらだち、よく、こうまん。

tsūchō) that is built into our souls.” He claimed that the moral or immoral actions a person undertakes—“the way we use our hearts every day”—leave a record in the soul of the individual that remains connected from one life to the next, recording a balance like in a bank account. His metaphor of a bank account brings quantitative reasoning to bear on qualitative problems of morality, and in so doing the chaplain explains virtue (徳 *toku*) as if it were a physical matter. This virtue is then juxtaposed with its opposite, the eight dusts (八つほこり *yatsu hokori*) that cloud the heart. Relying again on a physical metaphor to express morality, the chaplain suggests a strategy for purifying the heart: “these dusts build up every day, but we call them dusts because through some simple cleaning they can be taken care of.” Here too, as in the case of the Shinto chaplain, the purification of the heart is presented as a goal for people in the correctional system.

Shingonshū. Tokyo Jail. General Chaplaincy.

Group Session. Shodō Workshop. Copying the *Heart Sutra*. December, 2015.

The chaplain, a female priest representing a temple from the Buzan lineage of the Shingon sect, led a group of inmates through copying the *Heart Sutra* (般若心經 *Hannya Shingyō*).⁴⁶ A guard sat quietly in the corner overseeing the process.

The chapel resembled a small classroom with three rows of white folding tables lined up before a whiteboard. There were ten women in pink uniforms and sneakers seated at these tables, each focused intently on sutra copying.

The session proceeded mostly in silence as the chaplain walked the aisles to check everyone’s progress. She passed copies of the sutra to myself and to the official from the education department who had accompanied me. The sutra materials clearly bore the name of the Buzan Sect of Shingon, but they did not appear to be intended solely for use by chaplains. I imagined that these must be the same sutra copying exercise worksheets used at periodic sutra copying workshops held at Buzan sect temples throughout Japan.

The chaplain closed the session by posing a question to the inmates and listening to their responses. “Alright, brushes down everyone. Some of you wrote so quickly! As you were writing, what happened to your consciousness (意識は *ishiki wa*)? Were you concentrated?” The inmates each offered brief responses one by one (“I felt concentrated,” “my heart was at ease”), and then the chaplain closed the session with a bow.

⁴⁶ The chaplain made use of the Genjō (玄奘 Ch. Xuánzàng, 602-664) Chinese translation of the Sanskrit. The full title was 『般若波羅蜜多心經』.

After the chaplaincy session, I returned to the warden's office to meet with the chaplain and the warden to discuss the day's session. I inquired about the purpose of the sutra copying. The chaplain replied that she hoped that the women would be able to focus their feelings on one thing, to develop concentration, and to calm themselves. The warden said he believed that those who interact regularly with chaplains and participate in such sessions generally tend to be more relaxed. He said, "We haven't conducted a survey, but it is my hope that these activities are good for the inmates." He noted that the sutra copying workshop was not regarded as a religious activity. It was general chaplaincy (一般教誨 *ippan kyōkai*), not religious chaplaincy (宗教教誨 *shūkyō kyōkai*). For this reason, it was considered part of the prison's mandatory schedule, and all female inmates were scheduled to attend.⁴⁷

The chaplain explained how she views her role as one of the few female chaplains and how that impacts her work with women in prison. "I think that women have what we call 'the heart of mercy (慈悲の心 *jihī no kokoro*).' I try to bring this out—the sense that we are connected to others. I hope that the women will think of their families and children. If they can pay attention to the love they have received from others, maybe they will be able to reconnect with their families."

Analysis

The Shingon chaplaincy session at Tokyo Detention House was officially a secular affair. However, the leader of the session was an ordained priest with the Buzan-ha lineage of Shingon, and she taught the class wearing clerical vestments. Moreover, the content of the class was a sutra copying (写経 *shakyō*) workshop—though the warden referred to it as a calligraphy (書道 *shodō*) workshop. During the class, the chaplain did not proselytize about the doctrines of the Shingon sect. However, once the sutra workshop was nearing an end, the chaplain asked, "what happened to your consciousness (意識は *ishiki wa*)?" This question presupposes that the activity of sutra copying will have some effect on consciousness, but there was no explicit religious framework offered

⁴⁷ Religious chaplaincy cannot be compulsory due to the constitutional provisions for separation of religion from state and for religious freedom. General chaplaincy may be compulsory, as it was in this case. It is typical for religionists to conduct both types of chaplaincy sessions. As we can see from this case study, there is a great deal of ambiguity about what kinds of activities are considered appropriate for general chaplaincy. Why is copying the *Heart Sutra* a non-religious activity? The reason is likely simply that the warden decided to classify it as such.

to understand what this might be. When I met with the chaplain and the warden afterwards, she conveyed her hope that the inmates would “be able to focus their feelings on one thing, to develop concentration, and to calm themselves.” For his part, the warden offered that he had not conducted a survey to determine the effects of prison chaplaincy, but he shared his hope that participation in these activities would benefit the inmates. Finally, when the chaplain gave a more general statement of her understanding of her role as a chaplain, she invoked “the heart of mercy” (慈悲の心 *jihī no kokoro*), and said that this is what she tries to bring out in her clients. Although the doctrinal framework for this Shingon chaplaincy session was largely invisible (or at least esoteric), comments from the chaplain—and her question to the inmates about the impact of sutra copying on their subjective states—seem to imply a connection between sutra copying and the purification of the heart. Moreover, the Kōya-san Shingonshū chaplains’ manual specifically recommends having inmates copy the *Heart Sutra* as a means to purify their karma and obtain apotropaic benefits.⁴⁸ One gets the impression that even if the inmates are not aware of any religious framework for a given general chaplaincy session, chaplains themselves may still see these activities through a doctrinal lens. For the warden, it seems that his general attitude was simply that there was probably some benefit to having inmates do this, though he did not clarify what he meant.

The Tenrikyō case study and the Jinja Honchō case studies are clear examples of variations on the theme of theodicy that share structural similarities with a theory of karma in which the secular law and a religious metaphysics are seen as interwoven. The Tenrikyō chaplain specifically invokes the Tenrikyō notion of past-life causes and

⁴⁸ Kōya-san Shingonshū Fukyōshō (1994), 193-6.

connections (*innen*). The Jinja Honchō chaplain does not invoke directly the notion of karma, but he does outline a doctrine in which thoughts, words, and deeds flow from the heart and simultaneously influence the development of a person's character. Finally, though it goes unstated, the Shingon chaplain frames her workshop in accordance with Shingon teachings about methods for purifying karma.

These three case studies drawn from Jinja Honchō, Tenrikyō, and Shingon chaplaincy sessions are representative of the work chaplains do behind bars. The *kokoro* is explicitly referenced in all three cases. A form of theodicy is also always implicit. The eight dusts (Tenrikyō), the purification of the mind through the religious practice of sutra copying (Shingon), and the struggle between the polluted heart (*kitanaki kokoro*) and the bright heart (*akaki kokoro*) (Jinja Honchō) can all be understood in relation to underlying theological interpretations of the problem of evil, the causes of crime, and the role of religion in reform. These theological frameworks provide existential interpretations of the crime and rehabilitation process, and though they may be entirely repressed (as in the sutra copying workshop), religious frameworks do structure some of the activities that are conducted under the auspices of secular, general chaplaincy sessions. Moreover, they are all predicated on the assumption that the violation of the law of the state amounts to a moral transgression or the violation of a religious code.

The Corrections Office is not invested in particular ideas about karma, but the logic of corrections does take the concept of *kokoro* as foundational because the legal system relies on conceptions of intentionality to properly apportion moral responsibility. Ideas about intentions are also foundational to bureaucratic and academic efforts to understand and manage crime as a social phenomenon. Corrections as a field is

built upon the idea that intentions are the result of patterns of behavior and thinking that can be molded or disciplined.⁴⁹ In the functionalist logic of corrections, religion (i.e. what the chaplains teach) appears as one tool for accomplishing this goal.

Interviews

Table 6.4 provides a breakdown of the various affiliations of persons interviewed in the process of this research. These interviews began during the summer of 2012 and were continued throughout an extended research trip from July of 2014 until August of 2016. In the process of interviewing prison chaplains and other correctional professionals and volunteers, I approached each interview with questions designed to elicit information about informants' opinions regarding a range of issues. The topics I generated for interviews with chaplains are listed along with examples of the questions from interview scripts I created for myself in table 6.5.

Table 6.4 Breakdown of Interviews with Chaplains and Other Correctional Professionals and Volunteers	
Affiliation	Number of Individuals Interviewed
Chaplains	
Jōdo Shinshū Chaplaincy	2
Jōdoshū Chaplaincy	1
Konkōkyō Chaplaincy	2
Nichirensū Chaplaincy	2
Protestant Chaplaincy	4
Shingonshū Chaplaincy	3
Shrine Shintō Chaplaincy	2
Sōtōshū Chaplaincy	2
Tenrikyō Chaplaincy	5
Others	
Correctional Officials	6 (5 education department officers, 1 prison warden) ⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Foucault expresses the essence of modern corrections in this memorable phrase: "The soul is the prison of the body." Foucault (1995), 30.

National Chaplains Union Office Staff	1 (civil servant)
Employee of Catholic NPO for parolees	1
Ministry of Justice Official	1
Social Workers	2
Volunteer Probation Officers ⁵¹	1 (Tendai Priest)
Total	35

	Topic	Sample Questions
1	Biography	How did you become a chaplain? How long have you been a chaplain? Why did you become a chaplain?
2	Ideas about morality and interpretations of the causes of crime	What do you think are the leading causes of crime in Japan? Why do you think people commit x or y offence?
3	Understanding of the role of religion in the correctional system, society more broadly, and the individual life	How does your role as a chaplain fit in with your responsibilities as a priest? Do you rely on x, y, or z doctrine from your sect's manual when you teach in prison?
4	Articulations of the formal responsibilities of the chaplaincy	What do you think the prison staff / clients / your sect expects of you as a chaplain? What are your responsibilities as a chaplain? What do you do in a prison chaplaincy session? Is prison chaplaincy a form of volunteering?
5	Opinions about chaplaincy	Are you glad you became a chaplain? Why or why not? Do you think prison chaplaincy makes a difference for people behind bars? What does your family think about your work as a prison chaplain?

Although I approached my interviews with the kinds of questions listed in table 6.5 in mind, the most revealing interviews did not follow the course that I had intended to impose upon the conversation, but rather flowed in directions I could not have predicted. For example, based on my readings of chaplains' manuals, I had assumed that prison

⁵⁰ These interviews took place inside prison facilities. No audio recording equipment and no cellular phones were permitted inside the prisons, so I relied on written notes.

⁵¹ Several of the chaplains were also volunteer probation Officers. I interviewed one volunteer probation officer who was not also a chaplain.

chaplains was a volunteer activity. I quickly realized that some chaplains did not like to be asked, “how long have you been volunteering in the prison?” Moreover, I also realized that many chaplains were resistant to questions I developed based on my own interest in the relationship between sectarian doctrines and the practice of chaplaincy: “we cannot go into such depth in a chaplaincy session” or “that is too difficult for teaching in the prison” were common responses.

Rather than attempting to provide a comprehensive analysis of all of the interview data, I offer here case studies based on four interviews conducted with prison chaplains from several religious organizations: Tenrikyō,⁵² Jōdo shū,⁵³ Jinja Honchō,⁵⁴ and Jōdo Shinshū.⁵⁵ These individuals each became prison chaplains via a different path, and each interview offers a different perspective on the prison chaplaincy.

Dōyama Yoshio is the head (教会長 *kyōkaichō*) of the Tenrikyō Ōedo Bun Kyōkai (大江戸分教会 Ōedo Branch Church) in the lineage of the Senba Grand Church (船場大教会 *Senba Daikyōkai*) in Tokyo, and he serves as prison chaplain at Fuchū Prison in Tokyo. According to his own estimation, he is one of only a handful of prison chaplains to serve simultaneously as a Volunteer Probation Officer (保護司 *hogoshi*) and a volunteer prison visitor (篤志面接委員 *tokushi mensetsuiin*). These responsibilities mean that his personal life has become deeply connected to the work of the correctional system. I met with Dōyama in Tenri to discuss his work as a chaplain. Dōyama is in his

⁵² Interview with Dōyama Yoshio 9/25/2014.

⁵³ Interview with Fukai Miyoko 6/2/2016.

⁵⁴ Interview with Sawatari Masamori 6/6/2016.

⁵⁵ Interview with Hirano Toshioki 10/3/2014.

mid-to-late fifties, and he is an extremely loquacious man with a caring demeanor and an optimistic attitude. When I asked him to tell me about his experiences as a chaplain, he offered his own reflection on the meaning of the work as follows:

What is the root of suffering? We get sick, and have other problems, right? Well, in Tenrikyō, we hold that it comes from the heart (*kokoro*). It comes from what we think and from our actions. According to the Tenrikyō story of creation, God created human beings so that we could help each other (*otagai tasuke atte*), live the joyous life, and realize a joyous world. However, in general, human beings use their hearts (*kokoro tsukai*) in ways that contradict these ideals. Maybe human beings are acting counter to these ideas ninety percent of the time, but we have the teaching in Tenrikyō that if you help others, you will be saved. Certainly there can be various causes for illness and so on, but we have the teaching that this comes from the heart.

Dōyama situates suffering in a doctrinal context that locates the source within the hearts of individuals. At first, it appears that his understanding reflects the position expressed in the official Tenrikyō chaplaincy discourse in that he seems to be focused on the role of individual choices in leading to suffering. However, when I asked him to tell me about the people he has been working with, Dōyama adopted an understanding attitude and immediately backed away from doctrinal rigidity.

These people tend to have intellectual disabilities (*chiteki shōgai*). So when it comes to conversation, it can sometimes be difficult to tell how far they are comprehending. Now [the fact of having intellectual disabilities] is not the responsibility of the individual. Someone might say that this is attached to the past-life causes and connections (*innen*) of a person's soul—but that is still not the responsibility of the individual.

What seems to happen is that people with intellectual disabilities get used by others. I think it is similar to what you see in bullying. Someone in a slightly superior position takes advantage of someone in a weaker position, right? I think this is the foulest thing a human being can do (*ningen no ichiban kitanai kōdō*). Repeat offenders are often people who have been pressed into it. I really think that many of them are victims themselves (*higaisha de mo aru*).

When asked to discuss incarcerated people, Dōyama began by pointing out that many of those he encounters in his work as a chaplain suffer from intellectual disabilities. He

began from this assertion to work up to a deconstruction of a simple binary between offenders and victims: “I really think that many of them are victims themselves (*higaisha de mo aru*).” To get to this conclusion, he rejected any suggestion that people suffering from intellectual disabilities could somehow be seen to deserve their misfortune. He rejects any attempt at religious justification for the suffering of the disadvantaged, and he notes that most repeat offenders fall into their situations through mitigating circumstances that limit their capacity for free agency: “Repeat offenders are often people who have been pressed into it.” To Dōyama, the abuse of the weak is “the foulest thing a human being can do (*ningen no ichiban kitanai kōdō*).”

Dōyama devotes much of his time to working with people who have been released from prison. During our conversation, he excused himself momentarily to take a phone call. When he returned, he explained that the call had been related to his work as a prison chaplain.

Sorry, I just got a call. My name is extremely rare, I think there is only one other person with the same first and last name in the whole country. So if someone looks up my name, they get the phone number easily. Now, sometimes people are released from prison and they phone my church. My wife always gives them my cell number and tells them to call me. And I say, “come over to the church.” The prison tells us that we shouldn’t do this. At Fuchū Prison, some of the inmates have committed five or six offences—so the prison asks us not to be involved with people after their release.

Though the prison advises against this practice, Dōyama opens his church to former inmates for whom he has served as either prison chaplain or volunteer prison visitor. He tries to help people to get back on their feet after their release. When I asked him how this work complements his work behind bars as a chaplain, he answered candidly that he does not believe the scope for his interactions with inmates in the prison is sufficient for him to make the difference that he wants it to.

I only have about fifteen minutes for these individual sessions. If it were up to me, I could talk to them all day. The prison schedule won't allow for things to go so long because the staff have their own work to do. Of course it is understandable that the sessions are short so they can fit into the prison schedule, but it is not enough time for me to really help someone.

So [the other week], I told a young man, “when you get out, come to my house. We'll sort you out.” He said he wants to work, so I thought we could find something for him. I told him that when he gets out, he can rent an apartment near my place [the church]. That way, when he gets frustrated or upset, he can come over and I will talk things over with him. He could become friends with some of the people from our church, and he would be welcome at our monthly service (*tsukinami-sai*). After the service we always have a meal together (*naorai*), so he could come and eat together with all of us. I hope that having the company might help him to get some control over himself. So I said to him, come over when you are out. And he seemed grateful. He actually cried.

To me, this is what it means to lift someone up from hardship (*nanjū wo sukui ageru*). It is not enough just to talk to them while they are in prison. To really help people, it takes more.

Dōyama emphasized that he considers his work with marginalized people to be his life's mission (*raifu wāku*). When I visited Dōyama's church, I met people at the monthly service (*tsukinami-sai*) who encountered him while they were incarcerated. Though I found his commitment to helping others to be admirable, from my interactions with him, I got the impression that the public offices he holds (chaplain, volunteer probation officer, and volunteer prison visitor) consume a large part of his private life. He seems to enjoy this kind of work and find it meaningful, but his involvement with the correctional system clearly has an enormous influence over the way he spends his days—and prison chaplaincy is unpaid work. He has a wife and children at home, and I found myself wondering how he manages to balance his responsibilities with his family life.

Sawatari Masamori is chief priest (宮司 *gūji*) of Ōkunitama Shrine (大國魂神社 *Ōkunitama Jinja*) in Fuchū city in Tokyo. After observing his chaplaincy session at Fuchū Prison, I interviewed him at the shrine to ask him about his role as a prison chaplain. During our interview, Sawatari appeared at times to be gathering his thoughts

before answering questions. He came across as a careful person, mindful of his position as the head of a large and well-known shrine. He gave the impression that he is somewhat conflicted about working as a prison chaplain: he enjoys the sense of contributing to his community, but he would prefer to keep his distance from the world of the prison. The *Jinja Honchō Chaplain's Manual* is vague on points of doctrine, so I asked him what he tries to accomplish in a Shinto chaplaincy session.

What is a Shinto chaplaincy session for? I think it is to encourage the inmates to develop connections to the community (*chiiki to no tsunagari wo saseru koto*). In Christian chaplaincy sessions, I suppose the chaplains teach the inmates about what God tells them they should and should not do. In a Shrine Shinto session, I ask them how they think they can make a contribution to the community. If they do so, then they themselves will be recognized as members of the community, and through those contributions (*kōken*) and that recognition, I think they will be able to find a worthwhile way to live (*ikigai wo motsu*).

For example, a festival (*matsuri*) is put on by the community. When incarcerated people get out of prison, of course they have a past. But if they participate in the festival [i.e. planning, organizing, and conducting the festival], then they can make a contribution to society. If they do not try to do this, then they will be isolated and trapped by their own past. If a person thinks they want to contribute in some project in the community—even a clean-up project—then they can find a new identity (*atarashii jibun ga mitsukerareru*). If they continue thinking about their past forever, it will do no good.

At least, this is what I think about when I talk to them. Unfortunately, many of them get out only to become involved in amphetamines again, or they go back to a criminal organization. That is the reality, and it is a difficult reality.

For Sawatari, the purpose of the Shinto chaplaincy session is not to focus on teachings about the *kami*, but rather to emphasize the need for people to find socially respectable roles within the community. He cites the example of participation in local festivals as one way for individuals to connect with their neighbors. The inmates in Fuchū are gathered from throughout Japan, and Sawatari was referring to the need for people to connect with their own home communities—not with Ōkunitama Shrine specifically. Although he does not explicitly invoke a doctrinal framework for understanding the nature of the self,

Sawatari relates his concept of connection to community (centered around the Shinto Shrine and its festival) to a notion of self-transformation: “they can find a new identity (*atarashii jibun ga mitsukerareru*).”

Although Sawatari said that he encourages people to become involved in the festivals of their local shrine, he expressed his own reluctance to engage with former inmates whom he himself might encounter in society.

A prison chaplain is supposed to talk to people behind bars, not on the outside. The outside is the responsibility of the probation system. Even if I meet them out in society, even if they greet me, I cannot say anything more than hello. I have a responsibility to protect my private life (*puraietto no koto wo mamoranakya ikenai ginmu ga aru kara*).

Sometimes prison chaplains see people they met in prison walking around in Shinjuku, for example. If that happens, I cannot say anything more than “how are you.” I am not to say more than this. If a chaplain is walking with a friend or his wife and a former inmate greets him, what can he say if he is asked who it was? “Just someone I know from around.” That is all one could say. If a chaplain says, “that guy is from the prison,” then he has failed to keep that a secret. It would be a violation of the obligation of secrecy (*shuhi ginmu ihan*).

I know of some chaplains who are really putting everything into it, but somehow they have created relationships between their own home life and former inmates. There are some people who have faced complicated problems because of this. We have to do it in a way that doesn’t make our own lives a mess.

Sometimes former inmates come to pay their respects at the shrine (*omairi ni kuru*). I tell them they do not have to do this, but some still come. I try to avoid them if they come. If I did meet them, the staff would know what was up. Even if they just come to me to say “thank you for your help,” then the staff will know where they came from. When I see someone like this, I will just say, “please feel free to pay your respects at the shrine.” [but I will not engage in a conversation].

Unlike Dōyama, Sawatari emphasized that he does not want to continue interacting with former inmates once they have been released. He asserted his responsibility to protect his own private life (*puraietto no koto wo mamoranakya ikenai ginmu ga aru kara*), and his commitment to the prison’s obligation to secrecy (*shuhi ginmu*) in order to explain his preference for non-interaction. Despite this, he said that “sometimes former inmates come to pay their respects at the shrine (*omairi ni kuru*),” though he tries to avoid them.

He claimed also to know of “chaplains who have created relationships between their own home life and former inmates,” and he maintained that some of these people have suffered in their private lives because of these connections.

Because I am not familiar with a tradition of counseling within Jinja Honchō, I asked Sawatari to clarify the kinds of topics he discusses with incarcerated people and the advice that he gives in individual chaplaincy sessions. Sawatari found some levity in the question, and he reflected at length on some of his experiences:

I tell them that they ought to stop offending because it will make a mess of their lives! All one can really say is “you’ve got to stop it!” If you can use this [prison] as an opportunity to stop, you just have to stop. [For example] I tell them that they should think about how much trouble amphetamines have caused for their lives. I suppose that the drugs have some appeal to them, but I try to talk to them so that they will become aware of the need to change their heart or their awareness (*kokoro ya isshiki*).

With the sex offenders, they sometimes say that they want to become awakened (*satori wo hirakitai*). They have some desire for women, so they want to talk about whether they can get rid of it (*yokubō wo suterareru*). It seems that instincts cannot be overcome (*honnō wa suterarenaindesu ne*). The Buddha struggled tremendously to achieve enlightenment, but human beings cannot eliminate their instincts. Among the basic desires there are hunger, sexual desire, the desire for material things—but I tell them that they cannot totally eliminate these. However, even if they cannot get rid of their sexual desires, they could still follow the rules of society.

Some of them want to expose themselves in public, or others are grabbing young girls (*shōjō ni taishite chikan kōi*). I tell them that these activities are simply forbidden (*ikenai koto dakara*). I tell them that to the extent that they can, they have to get this idea into their conscience (*ryōshiki*). I say, “can you imagine what it would be like for the other person?” (*aite no tachiba wo kangaeru*). But they say, “I have never thought of it.” It seems that they just look upon people as objects. Maybe they do not think about it much, but if they could think from another person’s perspective then this would be some kind of progress. If I say to them, “think about how it would be for you if you were in the other person’s position,” then they say “I am sure I would not like it.” I say to them that realizing that they would not like it themselves can be the first step. If they start from there, then they should be able to understand more about how it feels for the other person.

They might not be able to give up their desires totally, but they could learn about the necessity of following the rules. They can learn that if they violate the rules again, it will be another sex crime. This is how I talk with them.

And then they ask me, “Sensei, do you not have sexual desires?” And I have to say, “I am a human being! Of course I do! If I see a beautiful woman in a skirt, of course I might *think*, ‘nice knees!’ [laughs]. But having that thought and reaching out to grab someone are two totally different things!” I say to them, “It is not illegal to think something like this, but your behavior has to follow the rules. Human beings cannot totally get rid of their desires, but they can learn to live with them within the rules of society. One has to develop restraints on one’s own heart (*jiseishin*) and follow morality (*moraru*). If they live within those bounds then they will be okay.

This exchange was the high point of our conversation as Sawatari and I both enjoyed a laugh, and he became animated as he described how inmates respond to his overtures. Sawatari seems to find many of the people he meets behind bars to be incomprehensible: “All one can really say is ‘you’ve got to stop it!’” The humor and irony of his conversation here revolves around the theme of thinking about what it is like to be in someone else’s shoes. Sawatari says that he invites his clients (sex offenders) “to imagine what it would be like for the other person” (*aite no tachiba wo kangaeru*)—however, the inmates then turn the tables on him, and ask him: “Sensei, do you not have sexual desires?” In essence, he is asked to consider what things would be like from the perspective of the person in prison for sex offences. Sawatari seems to consider this thought to be ludicrous, but the anecdote does convey something of the absurdity of sending religionists as private volunteers to provide counseling to sex offenders despite a lack of training in any relevant counseling or psychology field. Sawatari can tell them that they must develop restraints on their own hearts (自制心 *jiseishin*) and follow morality (モラル *moraru*), but there is little reason to expect such overtures to have an impact.

Fukai Miyoko is an unusual chaplain in several respects. She is one of only approximately sixty women (her estimate) serving in the prison chaplaincy, she is the

only woman serving in the Jōdo-shū chaplaincy, she is an ordained Buddhist priest who does not come from a temple household or have a temple of her own, and she is the only person I met who sought to become a prison chaplain of her own volition. Fukai was born into a lay family, but she studied at the Buddhist Taishō University (大正大学 *Taishō Daigaku*) in Tokyo. Through her relationships with members of the Buddhist clergy at Taishō, she developed a lifelong interest in Buddhism, and eventually pursued ordination independently. At university, she studied under a respected scholar of Buddhism who happened to be a Jōdo-shū priest and a prison chaplain. Through him, she became aware of prison chaplaincy when she was eighteen years old, and although she tried several times to become a prison chaplain (even phoning a prison to inquire about openings), it was not until she was over sixty that she was finally appointed. In her day job, she works as a teacher (教師 *kyōshi*). She is in her late sixties, and though she presents an unassuming and modest attitude, she comes across immediately as charismatic, tenacious in pursuing her own interests regardless of what others may think, and endowed with a keen sense of humor. She serves as prison chaplain at Tachikawa Detention House, and I interviewed her to inquire about her experiences.

When I asked her about the connection between Jōdo shū doctrine and prison chaplaincy, Fukai immediately redirected me. She insisted that focus should not be on doctrine, but on the needs of inmates and the requirements of the particular situation.

I have been a chaplain for seven years, and I think that whatever *kyōkai* means in its doctrinal context, the actual practice of chaplaincy (*genba de no kyōkai*) and the doctrinal concept of *kyōkai* are quite distinct (*kairi shiteiru wake*). Take the concept of the eightfold path. I think that however one may try to explain this path to people behind bars, some are not going to be able to understand it. So how do we proceed?

That's why I start from everyday conversation: what was your father like? What was your mother like? I am from the Jōdo shū sect, but usually the client

doesn't know the difference between Jōdo and Shinshū or any of the others. They don't know Kūkai from Hōnen. So there is no way to begin other than by asking them to think about why they are here in prison now.

There is a big gap (*kakusa ga aru*) between the doctrinal concept of *kyōkai* and the expectations that inmates have towards prison chaplains. This is something I have learned well in my years as a chaplain.

There is another issue. In my own experience, seventy percent of the people I meet in prison seem to have suffered neglect from their parents when they were small. In one of my group sessions, four out of five inmates did not receive sufficient affection from their parents—specifically from their mothers. I ask them about this: how was your childhood? Many of them were separated from their parents, and they grew up by themselves. With problems like this, we don't yet enter into the realm of Buddhist doctrine (*Bukkyō izen no mondai*).

All of these people were born in the Shōwa period, so this is the period of separation of religion from state. They have no contact with the [religious] tradition. This might be different for Europeans or white people, but in Japan today the people committing crimes, they have no knowledge base about Buddhism (*Bukkyō ni wa bēsu ga naindesu*).

Fukai's understanding of the role of the chaplain incorporates two important themes. First, in her experience, inmates are often suffering from the legacy of a childhood characterized by psychological or physical trauma—for example, as the result of neglect (if not abuse) at the hands of their parents. Given this situation, Fukai says, “we don't yet enter into the realm of Buddhist doctrine (*Bukkyō izen no mondai*).” Second, Fukai maintains that contemporary Japanese people have very little knowledge of or interest in Buddhism, so the chaplain has to find ways to connect with people without assuming that inmates will have some knowledge base about Buddhist doctrine. The practice Fukai describes is a far cry from anything represented in most of that chaplain's manuals that aim to interpret each sect's prison chaplaincy in line with an elaborate doctrinal framework.

In light of Fukai's perception of a gap between the doctrines espoused in chaplain's training materials and the actual practice of chaplaincy, I asked Fukai if she personally has some religious motivation for wanting to become a prison chaplain. I

anticipated that she might answer with reference to some desire to do religious service for the benefit of others, but Fukai responded by appealing to her sense of curiosity about the role of religion in contemporary Japanese society.

I don't know about a religious motivation. I wanted to understand something basic about religion. Why are people so familiarized to [their own] religion [that they fail to notice it] (*nande shūkyō ni najindeiru no ka*)? For example, you know most Japanese are atheists (*mushinronsha*). Even so, I have always thought there must be something basic, some kind of religion that supports these people (*sou iu hito ni mo sasae ga atte*). I think that Japanese people are not really atheists. Look at politics or the economy, in these areas a lot operates through trust (*shinpyōteki de aru kara*). I thought there must be some national or ethnic quality to Japanese people that is colored by religion. I think we could say the same thing about Korean people or others. I think it is because there is some kind of shared support [*sasae*] that makes up this country, Japan.

Maybe in Christianity or Judaism this [support] is framed as belief [*shinkyō*]. But I think Japan is a little more flexible about beliefs [*mō chotto yuruyaka*]. For example, surveys of the Japanese population seem to indicate that most people associate with more than one religion, right? Born Shinto and die Buddhist—and then they have a Christian wedding. Some people go to the temple or the shrine once a year. I think this reflects the Japanese faith (*nihonjin no shinkōshin*). I think it would be nice if we could return to that.

I think that all Japanese people—even those who say are non-religious have some kind of religion. Look, no one would urinate in the street in front of a temple, right? [Adam laughs]. So I think there is some kind of sentiment there (*ninjō teki na mono*).

Fukai maintained that her desire to become a prison chaplain was motivated by her own intellectual interests. She thought that prison chaplaincy would give her the chance to explore whether or not there is some implicit religious sensibility shared by Japanese people that provides support (*sasae*) to society. She did not state specifically whether or not she believes she has found such a thing or what its characteristics might be. However, her joke about people not wanting to urinate in front of a temple sets up her more serious comment that she feels there is “some kind of sentiment there (*ninjō teki na mono*).” It appears that for Fukai, her work as a prison chaplain, like her interest in Buddhism, and

her effort to understand the place of religion in Japanese culture, is connected to her attempts to understand the world around her and her own place within it.

Though she framed her interest in chaplaincy with reference to her own intellectual pursuits, Fukai also exhibits a deep concern for the incarcerated people who come to see her. When I asked her what she thinks they might want from her, she expressed her feeling that people's moods seem to improve through their interactions.

Their faces change before and after a chaplaincy session. When they leave, they smile. They have thirty minutes to talk. They can put themselves out there. They cannot do that with the prison guards. If I see them two or three times, then I feel like I can see a difference. The prison staff also says that it seems to make a difference. I think the ones who meet me two or three times must be getting something from it. Even when they are transferred to another facility, they can continue meeting with chaplains. Maybe this is just a self-serving way of thinking about it (*katte na omoikomi desu kedo*) [laughs].

She contrasts her role as a chaplain with that of the prison guards who cannot interact with inmates with the same degree of intimacy. Though she spoke with characteristic modesty about her faith in the value of her work, she expressed the feeling that inmates' moods are improved through interacting with her because they can "put themselves out there" and communicate openly. Thus, though she was reluctant to frame her activities as a chaplain within any doctrinal context, she asserted that the value of the chaplain's presence lies in the chaplains' capacity to provide a sense of human contact or connection for people living behind bars.

Hirano Toshioki is the Honganji-ha Shin priest of Chūgenji (中原寺) temple in Chiba. He is in his mid-seventies, and he is the former chairman (理事長 *rijichō*) of the National Chaplains' Union. Hirano serves as prison chaplain to death row inmates at Tokyo Jail, where he has been a chaplain since 1981. He is both respected and well-liked among his fellow chaplains for his wisdom and for his gentle and caring personality. In

my interactions with him, Hirano came across as a person of tremendous emotional depth who bears a heavy burden but has managed to reconcile himself to the world. Though Hirano seems to be melancholy by nature, he is also a master conversationalist. When I visited him several times over the course of two years, our conversations typically spanned the course of a day, and he never seemed to run out of interesting things to say or his own insightful questions for me.

Over time, I began to think that Hirano has refined the techniques of the heart-to-heart conversation through over thirty years of practice by working with people on death row. In the course of one of our conversations, Hirano mentioned that he feels gratitude (*kansha*) towards his clients, and I wondered how his role as a chaplain might have contributed to his sense of himself. I asked him if he would explain his comment in relation to his understanding of the chaplain's role.

It is not easy to put this concisely. Every person I meet is different. Just because a person has committed a crime, it doesn't mean they will be similar to someone else who is behind bars for the same crime. They all think differently, and they have different personalities.

But they have all lived through some adversity (*gyakkyō*). Perhaps they come from dire poverty, or their parents divorced, or they couldn't cut it at school. There are many background factors involved (*samazama na yōin ga aru*). In the end, they have ended up living behind bars (*hei no naka*). This means that they are alone (*kodoku ni natta*). When they were free, they may have gone about committing crimes, but once they are inside, they feel loneliness in a different way than people on the outside do. Now you and I might feel lonely, but it is not the same. Basically we are free. You want to go for a walk? Then you can go. But for them, for the first time, this freedom is no longer possible. They realize "I am well and truly alone now." Typically they have been abandoned by their parents too.

Now, if you take a lonely person, and they meet someone who does care about them [like the chaplain], then that is a most happy thing. In prison, the inmate might not care about rehabilitation (*kōsei*) at all. There are some people in prison who fall into despair (*jibō jiki*). What they really want is to feel a connection between human hearts. (*ningen to ningen no kokoro no fureai*). The warmth of another person's heart is what these people need.

Even for me, living in normal society, I might not think of the importance of the warmth that comes from another person. I might think: I want people to think well of me! I want to be recognized for doing my best! Our lives in society flow on like this. But what we really need in life is the connection to other people. The role (*yakume*) of the chaplain is to look on your client as your equal. Perhaps calling this a responsibility (*sekinin*) is over-stating the case.

Now, having said that, I cannot claim to get along with everyone I meet. Of course some personalities match better than others. But, I hope to give them a sense of the warmth that comes from knowing another person cares about them. It takes time and perseverance (*shinbō*). When I meet with them, this is what I think is most important.

[For inmates who will eventually be released,] I cannot control whether or not they will reform (*kōsei*). That is up to them when they get out into society. But I think that if they realize the importance of the warmth that comes from connecting with other people, then they can really think about what it means to be human.

Most of the inmates I meet are on death row, but I also work with normal inmates. These normal inmates will get out and return to society, so I hope they think about the meaning of being in prison. So I try to get to this point, but of course it takes time, and I tell jokes along the way... Whether or not a person has committed a crime, the saddest thing for a human being is loneliness, to have no one to speak to.

Though he approaches his answer obliquely, Hirano asserts that the role of the chaplain is recognize the humanity of their client and to provide inmates with the opportunity to feel “a connection between human hearts (*ningen to ningen no kokoro no fureai*).” He arrives at this position by first deconstructing any prejudicial perspective which might lump people together into a category of the “criminal” because such categorization undermines the capacity to appreciate individuality: “Every person I meet is different.” He then recognizes the suffering of people in prison at two levels. First, Hirano points out that everyone he meets in prison has arrived as a result of “many background factors (*samazama na yōin*),” and he notes that the only characteristic they all share is that “they have all lived through some adversity (*gyakkyō*).” Second, he introduces the theme of aloneness and the need for human connection: “they feel loneliness in a different way than people on the outside do.” The chaplain’s role, then, is to provide support against

this feeling of loneliness. He maintains that it is only through a sense of connection to others (or, as he asserted later, to some extra-human reality) that the individual can experience a truly human life: “if they realize the importance of the warmth that comes from connecting with other people, then they can really think about what it means to be human.”

As is clear from his description of the role of the chaplain, Hirano’s approach to chaplaincy does not immediately introduce sectarian doctrine. He focuses instead on the emotional needs of his clients. I asked him how he balances his obligations to sect, client, and prison facility, and Hirano responded at length about some of the difficulties that accompany these multiple levels of responsibility.

When it comes to the balance, sometimes I am left with a feeling of dissatisfaction about my own performance. Of course I am a Shin priest, so if a chaplaincy session ends, if we go one hour and I haven’t talked at all about Jōdo Shinshū or Shinran, I do feel disappointed. But I think [doctrine] has to come out naturally in the course of a conversation. For example, we might discuss our understanding of Shinran.

People on death row do not have a tomorrow (*asu ga nai*). You can’t say “see you next time.” Death row is not that world. If we end without discussing the most important thing together, then I feel like “Oh no, was that okay?” So I have banned myself from using the phrase “We will discuss that next time!” Watanabe Sensei [Hirano’s mentor] used to say the same thing [Watanabe did want to put things off for next time]. Although, recently I have started to feel that it might be okay to try to put off some [important] topics for another session... But then, of course, if I hear that someone has been executed, and I have left something unsaid, I regret it.

I have started to think that even having a conversation about nothing in particular can be a kind of karmic connection (*en*). Of course, if someone wants to hear about *nenbutsu*, then I am ready to go. But if that doesn’t happen, I realize it’s not up to me to save someone. There is always a karmic connection (*en*) [to the Buddha]. Even if I can provide someone with a kind of peace (*shinjō no antei*), I certainly don’t have the power to save someone. Amida does the saving, not human beings. If salvation through the power of Amida is assured, then it is not for me to worry about whether or not I have been able to save someone myself.

[...]

In Buddhism, we have the concept of karma (*gō*). My life does not come from nowhere, it exists in an endless repeating cycle (*mugen no kurikaeshi*).

Human life did not just arise out of nothing. There is a larger lifespan that continues forever in succession (*moto hiroi inochi ga zutto renzoku shitearu wake*). Karmic connections (*en*) to that greater life appear as individual lives. Even the present situation, what we call our reality, is made up of karmic connections (*tsunagari*).

There are times when life seems to go our way, and times when it does not. [Chapter fifteen of the *Tannishō* says that]⁵⁶ we can't say that for a person to die peacefully while chanting the *nenbutsu* is proof that they have been saved. Human beings might think so. We tend to think that we want to die peacefully, to die peacefully with a prayer on our lips. This is how people think. But this tendency is precisely what Shinran denies completely.

Shinran says that no matter what, there is a greater life beyond our human existence, and everyone is saved by this greater life. Our ailments, our suffering, our deaths—these things that come at the end of life are not the problem. They all emerge from our karmic destiny (*en*). Even people who seem to be living a pious life, praying the *nenbutsu* every day—even such people can die in pain. There are many who die in pain; people die—not praying, but cursing their own lives. The point [of chapter fifteen of the *Tannishō* is that] Shinran rejects the idea that the way a person dies reflects the quality of the person. Those who die piously are not necessarily the good. And those who die fighting it are not necessarily evil.

We tend to think that the quality of a person's death reflects their fate after death, but that is because we do not realize the ultimate truth (*shinri*). That is why I believe in leaving salvation up to the working of Amida. We are fine as we are (*sono mama de iinda yo*). There is Amida, there is hope, there is salvation. I think all we can do is believe in this. We have it leave it up to Amida. That is the nature of religion. Whether or not people realize it, I have come to believe this is what our human life is. We have to leave some things up to the Buddha.

For me, as a chaplain, I realized [over time] that my clients are not going to come to me to thank me for saving them. They are not going to say, "Oh Hirano, thanks to you I feel totally prepared to head to the gallows!" That is not going to happen. Shinran knew this, and that is why I believe he was a great thinker. He understood that human beings are self-satisfied (*jiko manzoku*) and that we try to live by relying on our own judgments (*hantei*) even unto the very last. That's what I feel as a chaplain. I can't accomplish anything by my own power. It is not thanks to me that people will be saved. Shinran knew that each human being lives bearing the karma of his own past.

In response to my question about the balance of responsibilities to sect, client, and prison institution, Hirano noted that while doctrine is "the most important thing" for him as a Shin priest, his practice as a chaplain necessitates that he must decide strategically to

⁵⁶ Chapter fifteen of the *Tannishō* deconstructs the human desire to die peacefully with a prayer upon our lips as something that emerges from ignorance. See a translation of the *Tannishō* in Hirota (1997 vol. 2), 674-5.

speak or be silent, to engage with religion or set it aside, depending on which course will be the best strategy for connecting with his clients and providing them with a sense of emotional comfort. Furthermore, in his discussion of commonplace assumptions about what it means to die a good death, Hirano asserts that “Shinran rejects the idea that the way a person dies reflects the quality of the person.” This assertion reflects his thinking about persons on death row. Human beings are not reducible to the worst mistake they have made in their lives. It is in this sense that Hirano says, “there are times when life seems to go our way, and times when it does not.” As he concludes this thought, he returns to reflect on his self-understanding: “my clients are not going to come to me to thank me for saving them. They are not going to say, ‘Oh Hirano, thanks to you I feel totally prepared to head to the gallows!’” He does not perceive himself as a savior, but rather as a companion, conversation partner, and counselor to the people on death row. Whatever the prison management may expect from him, Hirano does not appear to think of their aims, but rather retains a focus on his clients. If salvation is beyond his own powers, then he sees his role as offering the warmth that connection to another person can bring.

In their own ways, the four chaplains interviewed—Dōyama, Sawatari, Fukai, and Hirano—engage with what Hirano calls “problems of the heart (*kokoro no mondai*).” However, they do so in ways that move beyond the limitations of the discourse of the chaplains’ manuals—by considering social problems (Fukai), or by totally ignoring the functionalist agenda of the state altogether (Hirano). Each chaplain has his own understanding of the role of chaplaincy, and each of their stories sheds light on the complexity of this form of institutionalized religion in contemporary Japan. Dōyama’s

public and private life is consumed by his work with parolees and prisoners—but he finds it fulfilling. Sawatari would prefer to keep the whole affair at a distance, and he is careful to avoid bringing his work in the prison into his private life or into his professional life as an influential Shinto priest. Fukai is the only one who chose to become a chaplain of her own volition, and, by her own account, she did so propelled more by her curiosity than by a desire to contribute to the correctional rehabilitation work of the prisons. Hirano, the longest serving chaplain of those represented, feels gratitude to death row inmates who have helped him to deepen his perspective on life. Although the chaplains' conversations moves beyond the simplistic boundaries of the official rhetoric, the chaplains' experiences and reflections are still structured by the legacy of the Shin doctrine of complementarity that undergirds Japanese prison chaplaincy by placing responsibility for the private lives of inmates in the care of religionists. In each case, the chaplains represented their own responsibilities with reference to their clients' inner lives, the private dimension of thoughts, desires, aspirations, and suffering.

Conclusions

Both the official discourse of the chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*) and the chaplaincy sessions I observed are structured so as to emphasize the need for change within the hearts of individual inmates. However, I also found that the experiences and opinions of individual prison chaplains and their one-on-one interactions with individual inmates move beyond the boundaries set by the official discourse to encompass criticisms of the structure of society, considerations of mitigating factors that contribute to crime, and even material support for former inmates. Though the complex range of experiences had by chaplains is not reducible to the structural forces that define the parameters of

their station, their lives are fundamentally shaped by broader patterns in religion-state relations. In an anachronistic way, the office of the chaplain reflects the privatization and forced depoliticization that characterized religion-state relations when Shin priests developed the Japanese model of prison chaplaincy during the Meiji era. Prison chaplains today continue to serve in a public station the official purpose of which is to harmonize the private, inner lives of the incarcerated with the priorities of the public authorities.

Conclusions

I have argued that the Japanese model of prison chaplaincy is rooted in the Pure Land Buddhist concept of doctrinal remonstrance (教誨 *kyōkai*). I have traced the history of doctrinal remonstrance from the Meiji Restoration (1868) to the present day. I followed the history of this concept at two related levels. On the one hand, I focused on the ideological development of the discourse of the chaplaincy (教誨論 *kyōkairon*). On the other, I observed the politics surrounding the prison chaplaincy.

In my analysis of the discourse of the chaplaincy, I aimed to understand the internal logic of this genre of theology. I sought to see what values it expresses and to determine its limitations. Based on readings of the official records of the chaplaincy, I found *kyōkairon* to be a form of theodicy. An existential meaning is derived from the crime and rehabilitation process. This meaning is centered around the idea that the source of crime (as a form of moral evil) is located in the hearts of individuals. Through doctrinal remonstrance, offenders' hearts can be purified and brought into harmony with the cosmic moral order, and inmates will be saved in a religious sense and reformed according to the correctional system. There is a linkage between religious salvation and correctional rehabilitation, and crime is seen as a problem of the heart (心の問題 *kokoro no mondai*).

The major limitation of *kyōkairon* is that it is not designed to consider the structure of society or mitigating factors that contribute to criminal behavior. C. Wright Mills provides a convenient heuristic for getting to the nature of the difficulty. Mills defines the sociological imagination as the capacity to perceive connections between

private troubles and public issues.¹ The discourse of the prison chaplaincy sees everything as flowing from the heart of the individual. Crime thus appears as a private trouble, but the discourse of the chaplaincy is not designed to consider private troubles as reflections of public issues that are inherent in the social structure. By retaining an exclusive focus on the private, the official discourse of the prison chaplaincy is depoliticized. It reflects a privatized form of religious discourse and practice intended to serve the purposes of the institutional host, the prison. Individual prison chaplains go beyond the official discourse all the time, and their stories complicate this picture. I will return to this point shortly.

Second, I tried to analyze the politics surrounding the prison chaplaincy by paying particular attention to how the public/private divide has been legally constructed. In this register, I was interested in the history of law, the role of institutions (like the Honganji sect or the Japanese Association of Religious Organizations), and the experiences of individuals who have connections (ご縁 *goen*) to prison chaplaincy. I was informed here by work on secularization and law and Michael D. Jackson's anthropological method.² In particular, I found Jackson's idea (drawn from Hannah Arendt) that there are both public and private stories circulating about a given political issue to be useful for getting behind the official rhetoric of the prison chaplaincy.

At the level of the law, I was interested to think through how separate constitutions have constructed religion as an object of governance both by relegating religion to a privatized, apolitical realm and by advancing the idea that religion is a public good that the state has a vested interest in promoting. The idea that religion supports

¹ Mills (2000).

² Jackson (2002).

social stability is constant. In the Meiji period, the emphasis was on inculcating loyalty to the sovereign, and in the postwar period the emphasis was on peace at heart and religions' contributions to maintaining a peaceful society.

At the level of institutional history, I wanted to understand how religious organizations interacted with the state to build the prison chaplaincy through public-private cooperation. The 1886 Honganji sect charter lays the foundation for prison chaplaincy. The heart of this document is the idea that there should be complementarity between the dharma and the law of the sovereign (二諦相資 *nitai sōshi*). This idea inherits the political vision of Rennyo. According to this political ideal, the role of the sect in society should be to harmonize the private realm—not just the realm of home life, but the internal subjective sphere of beliefs, aspirations, and the conscience—with the public good. The Honganji sect charter provides a rationale for the role of the sect in society, and the prison chaplaincy mirrors the role of the sect in society in that both the sect and the chaplain serve to harmonize the private with the public.

Finally, I included biographical materials (Aikawa Chūeimon and Fukahori Masa's stories of the journey; Shimaji Mokurai's role in negotiating a place for his sect in the Great Promulgation Campaign in the early 1870s; Arima Shirōsuke's involvement in the Sugamo Prison Chaplain Incident; Hanayama Shinshō's memoir about his time as chaplain at Sugamo Prison; my own interviews). This material allows us to see some of the ways in which *kyōkai* is reflected in the lives of people. These narratives go beyond the parameters of the official discourse of prison chaplaincy in a number of ways. One constant theme is the impact the state has on shaping the public and private lives of individuals. For example, many prison chaplains find that their public station has an

influence on their home life. Fuchū prison chaplain Dōyama Yoshio is one example of a chaplain who from time to time continues his relationship with former inmates after their release. Some former inmates have even stayed with Dōyama at his church after their release. This kind of activity is not officially sanctioned, but, as Shintō chaplain Sawatari Masamori suggests, it is also not rare. These stories do not form a part of the official discourse of the prison chaplaincy, but the private conversations of prison chaplains highlight the significance of their personal experiences for a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of prison chaplaincy in Japan.

In Japan, prison chaplaincy is neither volunteering nor a vocation. It is an assignment. Religionists are appointed by their ecclesiastical hierarchies to serve in the prison system as representatives of the sect. Many chaplains explained their own appointment to the chaplaincy in the language of karma, as if it were a matter of fate or of circumstances beyond the control of the individual. Despite this, most of the chaplains I encountered sought to do their best to help the people under their care. In many instances, this effort required prison chaplains to go above and beyond the limitations of the official rhetoric and responsibilities of the prison chaplaincy. Although the official rhetoric is dominated by the priorities of the prison system, many chaplains were concerned about the need to offer counseling, comfort, and in some cases even material support to former inmates. Thus, though the official discourse of the chaplaincy is depoliticized and fails to address the social ills that lead to criminal behavior and its related suffering, it is ultimately prison chaplains themselves who must represent their sects in facing the harm caused by the social phenomenon of crime. Where the official discourse of the chaplaincy falls short, individual chaplains themselves are left to improvise and find their own way.

Appendix A: HongANJI-ha *Prison Chaplaincy* Journal Index (1892-3)

	Articles and authors	Translations of Article Titles
Vol. 1, July 1892	<u>発行の趣意</u> <u>教誨</u> 1 囚徒教誨 第一・島地黙雷 2 慎の話・西光圭計 3 監獄教誨・小泉了諦 4 同・井邊浄益 5 同・千葉知養 6 同・高石大筋 <u>法語</u> 愚迷發心集・解脱上人 ¹ <u>説話</u> 人類の定義・本多澄雲 <u>講義</u> ・仏教綱要 <u>拾玉</u> <u>蒐録</u> 1 改悔要言・佐竹知聲 2 ジョンの話・蒔田耕夫 3 人間・帆足正久 <u>善行・学習・作文・質問・雑記等</u>	<u>Goals of this Publication</u> <u>Prison Chaplaincy</u> 1-Admonishing Prisoners (1) – Shimaji Mokurai 2-Discussing Self Control - Nishihikari Keika 3-Prison Chaplaincy - Koizumi Ryōtei 4-Prison Chaplaincy - Ibe Jōeki 5-Prison Chaplaincy - Chiba Chiyō 6-Prison Chaplaincy - Takahashi Ōsuji <u>Words of the Dharma</u> -Gūmei Hosshin shū- Gedatsu Shōnin (Jōkei) <u>Karma Tales</u> -The Definition of the Human- Honda Chō'un <u>Lecture Course:</u> -An Overview of Buddhism <u>Pearls of Wisdom</u> <u>Records</u> 1-Necessary Words for Repentence- Sadake Chisei 2-John's Story- Tokita Kōfu 3-Human Being- Hansoku Shōkyū <u>Good Deeds, Studies, Essays, Questions, Miscellany</u>

¹ Jōkei (貞慶, 1155-1213).

Vol. 2,
August 1892

監房揭示文

教誨

- 1 囚徒教誨 第二・
島地黙雷
- 2 人間世界は當罰の世界なり・多田賢順
- 3 教えの鏡に向かふべし・眞能義聞
- 4 難苦得楽・佐々木石溪
- 5 恩愛の二神・永井龍潤
- 6 物皆偶あり・七里圓長

法語

愚迷發心集・解脱上人

説話

- 1 人の道の技折
- 2 既往を顧みて将来を慎むべし・西光量州

講義・仏教綱要

善行

- 1 唐夫の孝行
- 2 至孝人を感じず・佐々木龍調

蒐録

- 1 改悔要言(二)・佐竹知聲
- 2 一日に一日のことをなすべし・石村貞一
- 3 心・渡邊覚夢

学習・作文・質問・雑記等

Vol. 3, Sept.
1892

御文章

教誨

- 1 文字ずり・大内青嵐
- 2 其面を觀よ・山本実通
- 3 物に本来あり・小野史一
- 4 賞表授興式に際して・中尾勇健
- 5 放免後の心得・赤松皆恩
- 6 教誨 第三・島地黙雷

Prison Announcements

Prison Chaplaincy

- 1-Admonishing Prisoners (2) –
Shimaji Mokurai
- 2-The Human World is a World of Rewards and Punishments - Ōta Kenjun
- 3-Turn to the Mirror of the Dharma-
Shinnō Gibun
- 4-Achieving Happiness through Suffering- Sasaki Shikei
- 5-The Gods of Obligation and Love - Nagai Ryūjun
- 6-All Are the Same - Nanazato Enchō

Words of the Dharma

-Gūmei Hosshin shū -
Gedatsu Shōnin (Jōkei)

Karma Tales

- 1-The Turning Point in a Human Life
- 2-Look to the Past and be Cautious in Future - Nishihikari Ryōshū

Lecture Course

-An Overview of Buddhism

Good Deeds

- 1-The Filial Piety of the Tōfu
- 2-Empathy for those who would be Filial - Sasaki Ryūchō

Records

- 1-Necessary Words for Repentance (2)-
Sadake Chisei
- 2-Complete the Day's Work-
Ishimura Tei'ichi
- 3-Kokoro- Watanabe Kakumu

Studies, Essays, Questions, Miscellany

Ofumi

Prison Chaplaincy

- 1-Scraps of Writing- Ōuchi Seiran
- 2-Look at the Face- Yamamoto Jitsū
- 3-Things Happen for a Reason- Ono Shi'ichi
- 4-On the Occasion of a Reward Ceremony- Nakao Yūken
- 5-Preparations for Release-
Akamatsu Kaion
- 6-Prison Chaplaincy (3)-
Shimaji Mokurai

	<u>法語</u> 愚迷發心集・解脱上人	<u>Words of the Dharma</u> -Gūmei Hosshin shū- Gedatsu Shōnin (Jōkei)
	<u>説話</u> 1 誠の説・桐陰居士 2 保命の薬	<u>Karma Tales</u> 1-The Theory of Sincerity- Tōin the Layman 2-Life-saving Medicine
	<u>講義・仏教綱要</u>	<u>Lecture Course</u> -An Overview of Buddhism
	<u>善行・拾玉・蒐録・学習・作文</u>	<u>Good Deeds, Records, Studies, Essays, Questions, Miscellany</u>
Vol. 4, October 1892	<u>教誨</u> 1 監獄教誨大意・南條文雄 2 良心・豊田巍秀 3 私欲に制せらるる勿れ・牧野龍暁 4 禍福は天為にあらざり人為なり・大峰祖胤 5 平生の用心・菊藤大周 6 労働は人間の運命なり・朝戸浄諦	<u>Prison Chaplaincy</u> 1-The Purpose of Prison Chaplaincy- Nanjō Bunyū 2-A Good Conscience- Toyoda Gishū 3-Do not be Controlled by Selfish Desire- Makino Ryūgyō 4-Good and Ill Fortune are not Acts of Heaven but Acts of People- Ōmine Soin 5-Making Preparations- Kikutō Daishū 6-Labor is the Destiny of Humanity- Asado Jōtei
	<u>法語</u> 愚迷發心集・解脱上人	<u>Words of the Dharma</u> -Gūmei Hosshin shū- Gedatsu Shōnin (Jōkei)
	<u>説話</u> 人生の生涯は休息するの時なし	<u>Karma Tales</u> There is no Time for Rest in Life
	<u>講義・仏教綱要</u>	<u>Lecture Course</u> An Overview of Buddhism
	<u>善行・拾玉・蒐録・学習・作文</u>	<u>Good Deeds, Records, Studies, Essays, Questions, Miscellany</u>

Vol. 5, Nov. 般若心経
1892

教誨

- 1 監獄教誨(第一章)・
小栗栖香頂
- 2 毒を知りつつ食ふは誰ぞ・
久保維一
- 3 人は人たるに相応の行を為
すべし・光山大雲
- 4 望を達するには達する道あり・筑
後城三

法語

- 1 一遍上人の法語
- 2 見眞大師御俗名・蓮如上人
- 3 須らく省みるべし・聖徳太子

説話

- 1 釈庵禅師の財欲論
- 2 口過
- 3 自活の道を求むべし

講義・仏教綱要

善行・拾玉・菟録・学習・作文

The Heart Sutra

Prison Chaplaincy

- 1-Prison Chaplaincy (1) –
Okuri Seikachō
- 2-Who Knowingly Drinks Poison? -
Kubo I'ichi
- 3-People should Behave like Human
Beings - Hikariyama Dai'un
- 4-There is a Path to Achieve your
Dreams - Chikugo Jōsan

Words of the Dharma

- 1 Ippen's Dharma Talk
- 2 Kenshin Daishi's Secular Name -
Rennyō
- 3 In All Cases One must Be Reflective -
Shōtoku Taishi

Karma Tales

- 1 Shaku-an Zenji's Discourse on the
Desire for Wealth
- 2 Harmful Speech
- 3 One must seek One's own Path

Lecture Course

An Overview of Buddhism

Good Deeds, Records, Studies, Essays, Questions,
Miscellany

Vol. 6, Dec.
1892

観音経

教誨

- 1 恩を知れ・小泉了諦
- 2 小悪を軽んじて大悪に落ちる勿れ
(上)・
山科凌雲
- 3 賭博の害・下間鳳城
- 4 帰善の近道・横山順誓

法語

存覚上人法語抄

説話

- 1 新年の御用心
- 2 稷丘丈人の物語

講義・仏教綱要

善行・拾玉・蒐録・学習・作文

The Kannon Sutra

Prison Chaplaincy

- 1 Know your Obligations -
Koizumi Ryōtei
- 2 Do not Overlook Small Evils and Fall into
Greater Evil (1) - Sanka Ryōun
- 3 The Harms of Gambling –
Shimoma Hōjō
- 4 The Shortcut to Return to the Good-
Yokoyama Junsei

Words of the Dharma

Sonkaku's Dharma Talk (Excerpt)

Karma Tales

- 1- Preparing for the New Year
- 2- The Story of the Old Man of Kibioka

Lecture Course

An Overview of Buddhism

Good Deeds, Records, Studies, Essays, Questions,
Miscellany

Vol. 7,
January
1893

観音経

教誨

- 1 教誨の主義目的並びに説者
の心得を示す・村上専精
- 2 希望と實行・高安博道
- 3 小悪を軽んじて大悪に落ちる
勿れ(下)・山科凌雲
- 4 人は人という名義に構わざる
べからず・神谷唯乗

法語

存覚上人法語抄

説話

先人主となる

講義・仏教綱要

善行・拾玉・蒐録・学習・作文

The Kannon Sutra

Prison Chaplaincy

- 1 The Position and Goals of Prison Chaplaincy and
the Preparations for Chaplains – Murakami Senshō
- 2 Hope and Practice – Takayasu Hakudō
- 3 Do not Overlook Small Evils and Fall into
Greater Evil (2) - Sanka Ryōun
- 4 Being a Person is Important – Kamitani Yūjō

Words of the Dharma

Sonkaku's Dharma Talk (Excerpt)

Karma Tales

Earlier Generations are our Teachers

Lecture Course

An Overview of Buddhism

Good Deeds, Records, Studies, Essays, Questions,
Miscellany

Vol. 8,
February
1893

仏説老子経

教誨

- 1 聴者の心得を示す・村上専精
- 2 志を立つべし・多田賢順
- 3 懲戒と教誨・谷治達門
- 4 一の字について・伊藤大忍

法語

存覚上人法語抄

説話

- 1 観楼の感・蔓非道人
- 2 民生存勤家道在験
- 3 貝原先生家訓一筋

講義・仏教綱要

善行・拾玉・菟録・学習・作文

The Buddhist Tao te Ching

Prison Chaplaincy

- 1 Indicating Preparations for Auditors – Murakami Senshō
- 2 Set your Will to it – Ōta Kenjun
- 3 Penal Labor and Chaplaincy - Taniji Tatsumon
- 4 On the Charater for “One” – Itō Dainin

Words of the Dharma

Sonkaku’s Dharma Talk (Excerpt)

Karma Tales

- 1 The Feeling of Looking out from the Watch Tower- Manpi Dōjin
- 2 The Life of the People is Work; Householder Life is a Test
- 3 The First of Kaibara Ekken’s Principles for Household Life

Lecture Course

An Overview of Buddhism

Good Deeds, Records, Studies, Essays, Questions, Miscellany

Vol. 9,
March 1893

仏説王法・御恩

教誨

- 1 人生之徳義・村上専精
- 2 白骨の御文について・小泉了諦
- 3 暇出獄の恩典式に際して・千葉知養
- 4 無形の罪・原精一

法語

人に興ふる書・明恵上人

説話

- 1 愛欲・独庵玄光禅師
- 2 職業何ぞ選ばん
- 3 無常の嵐

講義・仏教綱要

善行・拾玉・菟録・学習・作文

The Buddha Explains the Law of the Sovereign and its Obligations

Prison Chaplaincy

- 1 The Virtues of Human Life – Murakami Senshō
- 2 On the White Bone Writings – Koizumi Ryōtei
- 3 On the Occasion of a Prison Release Ceremony – Chiba Chiyō
- 4 Punishment without Form – Hara Sei’ichi

Words of the Dharma

A Book to Give Someone- Myōe

Karma Tales

- 1 Lust- Dokuan Genkō Zenji
- 2 What Line of Work to Choose
- 3 The Storms of Impermanence

Lecture Course

An Overview of Buddhism

Good Deeds, Records, Studies, Essays, Questions, Miscellany

Vol. 10,
April 1893

教育に関する勅語

教誨

- 1 教誨・南條文雄
- 2 悪を知らば速く改むべし・
千葉知養
- 3 帰善の近道(其二)・
横山順誓
- 4 本心に帰れ・大津隆岳
- 5 人を忘れるべからざるもの・
松本自勉
- 6 心人に若かざるも悪むを知ら
ず・大江志幹
- 7 人生之徳義(承前)・
村上専精

法語

- 人に興ふる書(つづき)・
明恵上人

説話

- 1 いろは
- 2 忠恕人情

講義・仏教綱要

善行・拾玉・菟録・学習・作文

The Imperial Rescript on Education

Prison Chaplaincy

- 1 Prison Chaplaincy – Nanjō Bunyū
- 2 When One Knows Evil, it is best to Reform
Quickly – Chiba Chiyō
- 3 The Shortcut to Return to the Good -
Yokoyama Junsei
- 4 Return to the Original Heart –
Otsu Ryūgaku
- 5 Do not Forget People -
Matsumoto Jiben
- 6 Even if the Heart Grows Old, It does not Know
Hate – Ōe Shikan
- 7 The Virtues of Human Life – Murakami Senshō

Words of the Dharma

A Book to Give Someone- Myōe

Karma Tales

- 1 Iroha
- 2 Sincerity, Consideration,
and Human Feelings

Lecture Course

An Overview of Buddhism

Good Deeds, Records, Studies, Essays, Questions,
Miscellany

Appendix B:

Index to the Prewar and Wartime Prison Chaplaincy Journals (1925-1943)¹

Chaplaincy Studies (教誨研究 *Kyōkai Kenkyū*)

and *Chaplaincy and Probation* (教誨と保護 *Kyōkai to Hogo*)

I. Waseda University Library Collection 早稲田大学図書館所蔵

Chaplaincy Studies (教誨研究 *Kyōkai Kenkyū*)

Book 1 (1925 Taishō 14)

十号大正一四年四月

教壇に立つまで/刑務教誨と宗教との関係を論ず (三) 図書目録/経験に先立ちて/
人格の絶対性/刑務所の塵箱/私の感想集/教誨師の歌える/軍隊生活から刑務所へ

十三号大正一四年八月

二年前の回顧/中心生命 (再び) /小川先生の弟子/会話 精出して働きや何処にも
地獄はありやしません・私は悪人です/表象といみ/教育テストに就て/刑務所と一
般教育の関係/第三回刑務教誨練習所研究事項並班別/在京教誨師研修会/本派教誨
師芳交会規約

十四号大正一四年十一月

教誨貫際論/第三回刑務教誨練習所 終業式に於ける所長式辞/京都から/郷・帰性
に就て/教誨学の定義についての一考察/刑務所と一般教育の関係 (二) /思ひでの
記

十五号大正一四年十二月

受刑者の儀表/巨鐘の鑄造 衆知を集めて/郷・帰性 (二) /獨逸拘禁の意味 (一) /
川越少年刑務所 参観記

Book 2 (1926-7 Shōwa 1-2)

The numbered bound volumes in the Waseda collection jump from Book 1 to Book 3, but there is no book 2. The first official history of the prison chaplaincy (日本監獄教誨史 *Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai-shi*) was published in 1927, so it is possible that this project took the place of the journal for this year, resulting in the lack of journals from 1926-7.

¹ This index does not contain some editions found at Ōtani University [15(4,6-12),16-17,18(1-4)] and some found at the University of Tokyo [14(9-11),15(3,7,11-12),16(1,5-7,10-11),17(1-4,6-9,11),18(1-4)].

Book 3 (1928 Shōwa 3)

第三卷・第三号 昭和三年十二月

刑務教誨と宗教/教誨の解放問題を論ず/刑務教誨の地歩について/時感愚語/刑務教誨と真宗教義(その二)/ロシアの獄制について/外から見た刑務教誨/教誨師の手記より/教誨研究の座談会/釈放時の保護状況(大阪刑務所)/地方的看読雑誌として/行刑関係新刊紹介・人事

第三卷・第七号 昭和三年七月

おしへんとする態度を去れ/教誨観の動揺/真宗教義と近代思潮との交渉について/唯物史観の宗教否定を観る/二態の親心(生活一ページ)/教誨師の増員問題感/新陳営を望みて/教誨研究類補蘭/行刑関係新刊紹介・其他

Book 4 (1929 Shōwa 4)

This book appears to be missing from the Waseda Collection.

Book 5 (1930 Shōwa 5)

第五卷・第二号 昭和五年二月

教務の管掌/宗教と道徳との関係についての一考察/慰安問題について/刑の量定に関する一疑問/発育状態及び死亡率に関する統計/教誨及び教誨師に関する外国の規程/一九三〇年の教誨への言葉/形政改革の夢物語/各地教務消息/教誨研究類報・後記

第五卷・第三号 昭和五年二月

社会的改革と個性的改革/マルキシズムと宗教 三木清/教誨の辨證法的²形態/宗教と道徳との関係についての一考察/教誨及び教誨師に関する外国の規程/各地教務消息/教誨研究類報・後記

第五卷・第四号 昭和五年四月

人生上より観たる極楽/マルキシストの観た宗教/反マルキシズムの理論と貫際/その日の対話の一筋/春宵時感/上州赤城山より/大磯紀行/教誨研究類報・後記

第五卷・第五号 昭和五年五月

教誨の技術/階級闘争の理論と戦術/マルキシズムの我国体に対する観点の過誤/思想犯保遇問題座談会/其死刑囚へ対する書面/敢えて一言/山科の里より/各地教務消息/教誨研究類報・後記

第五卷・第六号 昭和五年六月

教誨師の観点/宗教の真理性について(東大助教授 宇野円空)/宗教と道徳との関係についての一考察/思想犯の問題/思想犯の教誨について/教務展望/教誨研究類報・後記

²辨證法的=弁証法的= dialectical

第五卷・第九号 昭和五年九月

謹送迎於行刑局長矣/刑事及教化に対する批判/出家に関する考察/秋日愚感/累犯率の研究/彼の人は何うして方向転換した？/外道妄語/通牒/教務漫談/教誨研究類報・後記

第五卷・第九号 昭和五年九月

練習生諸氏に束す/犯罪と職業/フランソア・シミアン教授に接して/類犯率の研究/女少年の物語から/光を仰ぐ者/風流趣味の受刑者と談じて/刑務教誨練習所頼り/教誨研究頼り/教誨研究類報・後記

第五卷・第十一・十二号 昭和五年十二月

昭和五年を〇す/犯罪者と職業/刑務所における宗教的保護/研究余談/累犯率の研究/極左から見た宗教/釈放ナンセンス/此の輝き/本省通牒/第五回刑務教誨練習所紀要/教誨研究類報・後記

Book 6 (1931 Shōwa 6)

第六卷・第一号 昭和六年一月

最近に於ける教誨研究の思潮/累犯率の研究/疑問だよ/ウルトラ裸像/刑務所における宗教的保護/教誨尖端問答/第五回刑務教誨練習所紀要/教誨研究類報・後記

第六卷・第二号 昭和六年二月

性問題は何処へ行く/行刑における日本民族の理想/刑務所における宗教的保護・心は石に非ず転ずべからず/行刑の近代的プログラム/行刑に対する女性の叫び/刑務教誨研究会報/本省通牒/雑報・後記

第六卷・第三号 昭和六年三月

教誨師の心境/受刑者の信仰調査/教誨は何処へ行く/週間制度の目的達成と修養週間について/思想犯並に修養週間の研究/第五回刑務教誨練習所紀要/教誨ゴSSIP/編纂後記

第六卷・第五号 昭和六年五月

刑務官の教育から/受刑者の信仰調査/型白同異の弁/チャペルを守りて/左翼教誨と宗教/修養者を語る/倫敦ハムステッドにて/教誨通信/監獄法施行規則の改正/教誨研究類法/編纂後記

第六卷・第六号 昭和六年六月

教誨の進展/受刑者の信仰調査/浄土真宗とレーニズムについての一考察/変態性欲について/内外大都市に於ける犯罪の統計/反宗教同盟に直面して/奪胎婆さんの懺悔/刑務関係者の追弔法要/豊多摩刑務所教誨堂入仏式/編纂後記

第六卷・第七号 昭和六年七月

思想犯者の教化/受刑者性情のカテゴリーについて/浄土真宗とレーニズムに就いての一考察/思想犯処遇についての感想/インテリから離れる迄に/変態性欲について/行刑教育に因んで/教誨研究類報/編纂後記

第六卷・第八号 昭和六年八月

短期刑者の教育と接見立会の少略/犯罪人の科学的処遇問題/行刑教育に因んで/行刑領域における刑務の進展/成年受刑者の第二教育について/英国刑務所を見る/危激思想の方向転換とは何か/転換後の運動形態に就いて/モーリスの言葉に共鳴して/内外大都市に於ける犯罪統計

第六卷・第九号 昭和六年九月

思想犯受刑者の教化/小菅刑務所最近十ヶ年假釈放者成績/教誨上より見たる共産党 公判の公開と統一審理について/行刑オンパレード/行刑教化の対策に寄せて/反宗教運動と大菩薩精神/教誨ニュース/編纂後記

第六卷・第十号 昭和六年十一月

教務主任会終わる/渡辺司法大臣訓示/監野行刑局長指示事項/全国教務主任会同所感/本省詰問に対する答申書/思想犯の教化について/転向した思想犯の事例/刑務所両本願寺及び補正会提出付議事項/全国教務主任会同経過/全国教務主任会同に出席して/会同余話/編纂後記

第六卷・第十二号 昭和六年十二月

未決拘禁と教化/佛教に於ける法律の精神/思想犯の教化について/作業短縮時間の教化について/処遇の〇〇/行刑教化療理研究機関設立の必要/行刑局通牒/世評一斑/編纂後記

Book 7 (1932 Shōwa 7)

This book is missing from the Waseda University Library Collection.

Book 8 (1933 Shōwa 8)

第八卷・第二号 昭和八年二月

日本農村問題の特殊性/共産主義より宗教へ/常識死刑論/リリーフ・ワーカーの手記から/階級的俳句論/或る日の教誨について/感謝の滴く/予が触れたる渡辺海旭師の弟/ニュース/編纂後記

第八卷・第三号 昭和八年三月

先づ刑務所の分類から/共産主義より宗教へ/司法保護事業界の動向如何/資本取扱の現況について/階級的俳句論/刑務所日曜学校とはこれ/未決拘禁時代の感受性と心理的自我について/ニュース/小著雑纂/編纂後記

第八卷・第四号 昭和八年四月

日本失業問題の特殊性/共産主義より宗教へ/私本取扱の現況について/ソヴィエト少年の大衆裁判/教会堂に於ける佛教聖歌唱和論/刑務所日曜学校とはこれ/ニュース/小著雑纂/編纂後記

第八卷・第五号 昭和八年五月

金融と景気回復/共産主義より宗教へ/教化カードの形式と記載法について/ある日の面会/教誨堂に於ける佛教聖歌唱和論/米国刑務所標準看読新聞雑誌/ニュース/編纂後記

第八卷・第六号 昭和八年六月

金融と景気回復/共産主義より宗教へ/テクノロジーと教化/ある日の面会/米国刑務所標準看読新聞雑誌/ウイツツウイル農園刑務所の教育と教誨/ニュース/編纂後記

第八卷・第七号 昭和八年七月

年齢の視角より見たる思想犯人の教化問題/共産主義より宗教へ/宗教教化より見たる刑務作業/大倉精神文化研究所見学記/共同被告同志に告ぐ書/英国刑務官訓練学校/ニュース/編纂後記

第八卷・第八号 昭和八年八月

年齢の視角より見たる思想犯人の教化問題/受刑者処遇規則案に対する私見/宗教教化より見たる刑務作業/私のカメラは語る/共同被告同志に告ぐる書/心的指向の指導について/研究員募集広告/英国刑務官訓練学校/ウイツツウイル農園刑務所の教育と教誨/ニュース/編纂後記

第八卷・第九号 昭和八年九月

業思想について/大乘仏教と転向の論理/同志諸君に告ぐ/共同被告同志に告げる/共同被告同志に告ぐ/共産主義より宗教へ/其時を語る日誌の中より/英国刑務官訓練学校/転向者五百五十名/ニュース/編纂後記にかへて

第八卷・第十号 昭和八年十月

祝辞/尊属親に対する殺傷罪/日本民族の理想と使命/其時を語る/情操教育の人考察/蓮如上人と政治犯人/保護会の強行軍/ニュース/編纂後記

第八卷・第十一号 昭和八年十一月

龍樹の弁証法/誤解されたる大乘精神/思想問題研究
座談会/群集心理と総集教誨/情操教育の一考察/少年受刑者教育令/ニュース/編纂後記

Book 9 (1934 Shōwa 9)

第九卷・第一号 昭和八年一月

懲役受刑者の精神生活と教化工作の諸問題/日本精神/転向理論文献集展望/鎌倉時代初期における刑罰及びその思想/其時を語る/群集心理と総集教誨/少年受刑者教育令を祝して/一九三三を顧みる/ニュース/編纂後記

第九卷・第二号 昭和九年二月

救貧事業と防貧事業/看読書籍と慰安/一つの経験/転向理論文献展望/鎌倉時代初期における刑罰及びその思想/修養週間/ニュース/編纂後記

第九卷・第三号 昭和九年三月

懲役受刑者の精神生活と教化工作の諸問題/救貧事業と防貧事業/鎌倉時代初期における刑罰及びその思想/教化カードより/其時を語る/石川島造船所見学記 日本主義労働組合について/ニュース/編纂後記

第九卷・第四号 昭和九年四月

ヘーゲルとマルクス/刑罰思想史に於ける浄土教の位置/日誌の中より/減刑令を拝して/ソヴィエトの小学校と宗教/自治と陶冶の転移/ニュース/編纂後記

第九卷・第五号 昭和九年五月

懲役受刑者の精神生活と教化工作の諸問題/ヘーゲルとマルクス/思想犯受刑者の感想録から/ソヴィエトの小学校と宗教/其時を語る/ニュース/編纂後記

第九卷・第六号 昭和九年六月

懲役受刑者の精神生活と教化工作の諸問題/ヘーゲルとマルクス/一乗 意識の下のもの/ソヴィエトの小学校と宗教/雑記帖/ニュース/編纂後記

第九卷・第七号 昭和九年七月

明治初頭の布教について/都美と解除/青少年受刑者の同朋者に就いて/ソヴィエトの小学生と宗教/累進処遇中心座談会/共時を聞く/教誨師の執務時間/ニュース/編纂後記

第九卷・第八号 昭和九年八月

都美と解除/日本佛教と死刑救助/教誨の眼目/文化形態としての行刑を論ず/共時を聞く/ニュース/編纂後記

第九卷・第九号 昭和九年九月

二十世紀における死刑/蓮如上人と刑務教誨/受刑者看読書籍と素親居士/其時を聞く/郊外散歩礼賛(俳句)/内外ニュース/受領内外雑誌/編纂後記

第九卷・第十号 昭和九年十月

新教育に於ける佛教の適応性/集団散歩に関する一考察/累進処遇と情操教化/蓮如上人と刑務教誨/北海道拓殖と集治監/其時を聞く/ニュース/ 編纂後記

第九卷・第十一号 昭和九年十一月

真俗二諦に就いて/総集教誨に於ける若干の考察/累進処遇は受刑者に何を教へたか/満州国に於ける宗教と監所/北海道拓殖と集治監/其時を聞く/集団散歩に関する一考察/ニュース/ 編纂後記

第九卷・第十二号 昭和九年十二月

訓示/総集教誨に於ける若干の考察/防犯展覧会標語/稻刈（俳句）/光明小学校見学記/未決囚と家庭/満州国に於ける宗教と監所/其時を聞く/ニュース/内外受領雑誌/ 編纂後記

Book 10 (1935 Shōwa 10)

第十卷・第一号 昭和十年一月

日本古代行刑と佛教/文化形態としての行刑機構を論ず/累進処遇は受刑者に何を教へたか/受刑前の職業調査/ 天照園見学記/ニュース/編纂後記

第十卷・第二号 昭和十年二月

芸術と行刑/累進処遇は受刑者に何を教へたか/教務印刷新座談会 特に日本精神と宗教復興について/新春序曲/吉田松陰の福堂策/其時を聞く/ニュース/編纂後記

第十卷・第三号 昭和十年三月

朝鮮に於ける思想犯罪とその教化/累犯処遇に関する座談会/日本古代行刑と佛教/その時を聞く/通信教誨の中から/ニュース/内外受領雑誌/編纂後記

第十卷・第四号 昭和十年四月

朝鮮に於ける思想犯罪とその教化/文化形態としての行刑機構を論ず/日本古代行刑と佛教/総集教誨に於ける物理化学的條件/その時を聞く/新京通信 /ニュース/編纂後記

第十卷・第五号 昭和十年五月

行刑教育の立場より見たる受刑態度/朝鮮の慣習と婦人の犯罪 /日本古代行刑と佛教/総集教誨に於ける物理化学的條件/思想教誨 懐かしき北満の頼り/ニュース/編纂後記

第十卷・第六号 昭和十年六月

刑務教誨に於ける宗教各一性について/思想犯特殊心理としてのエルハーベンハイトについて/働くことの教育的意義/少年補習科教育について/涙痕集/私の反省/ニュース/内外受領雑誌 通信/編纂後記

第十卷・第七号 昭和十年七月

教育思潮/累進処遇上の教化の重点/日本古代行刑私考/刑務教誨協議録/私の反省/
通信教誨の中から/ニュース/編纂後記

第十卷・第八号 昭和十年八月

教育思潮/日本佛教の刑務的意義/法要/受刑者の栄養研究/刑務教誨及教育実施に
関する一考察/通信教誨の中から/行刑教育に関する一考察/ニュース/内外受領雑
誌/編纂後記

第十卷・第九号 昭和十年九月

社会政策/刑務教誨及教育実施に関する一考察/精神的快樂と健康/少年
受刑者の知能に就いて/通信教誨の中から/ニュース/内外受領雑誌/編纂後記

第十卷・第十号 昭和十年十月

社会政策/刑務教誨及教育実施に関する一考察/山陰とその母（日記）/累犯処遇令
に於ける採点進級に関する一私案/行刑補助学に関するブックレビュー/第九回教
誨研究会開会式に於ける訓示及式典/在満の思想釈放者と語る/ニュース/編纂後記

第十卷・第十一号 昭和十年十一月

ある日の座談会/累進処遇不適應者の考察/ロシア脱出記/北海のピオニヤ/佛教
と賀川豊彦氏/第九回教誨研究会開会式に於ける訓示・式典・祝辞・答弁/第九回
教誨研究会後記/ニュース/編纂後記

第十卷・第十二号 昭和十年十二月

宗教社会学/行刑のスタンプと拘禁中に於ける彼らの精神研究/秋日抄/刑務教誨及
教育実施に関する一考察/責任観念及意志の強弱採点に関する一考察/教誨
教育の主眼について/ニュース/編纂後記

Book 11 (1936 Shōwa 11)³

第十一卷・第一号 昭和十一年一月

宗教社会学/少年受刑者の意志気質について/北海のピオニヤ/刑務教誨及教育実
施に関する一考察/責任観念及意志の強弱採点に関する一考察/滞京冥感/ニュース
/編纂後記

³ The Waseda Collection ends here with the first issue from 1936.

II. Ryukoku University Ōmiya Library Collection 龍谷大学大宮図書館所蔵

Book 1 (1937)

第十二巻・第一號：昭和十二年一月號 (1937)

煩惱を断ぜずして涅槃を得(辻角常観)/宗教思潮批判 (宇野圓空) /俳句/新年/教誨
歎異抄 (七) /北海道集治監に於ける逃走の研究 (完) /俳句:初富士/犯罪少年の
性的傾向/俳句:念頭七句/
殺人犯及び傷害致死犯ニ間スル研究/採点に於ける人格的考察/俳句:冬景雑詠/随
感/俳句/見聞雑記/支那共産党員の転向手記/ニュース/編纂後記

第十二巻・第二號：昭和十二年二月號

情操教育と音楽/教誨歎異抄 (七) /俳句:冬たけなは/犯罪少年の性的傾向 (三) /
殺人犯及び傷害致死犯ニ間スル研究 (二) /和歌 時折の歌/教誨研究發達史に関
する学書/俳句/ 随感 (二) /郷倉を見て/俳句:春冬し/支那共産党員の転向手記/
ニュース/
編纂後記

第十二巻・第三號：昭和十二年三月號

経済思潮/俳句/教誨歎異抄 (九) /刑務教誨の立場に関する私論/犯罪少年の性的
傾向 (完) /俳句/殺人犯及び傷害致死犯に関する研究 (完) /受刑者監読書箱にお
ける宗教書の地位/北海道監獄史略年表/秋田の早春をたづねて/二見ヶ岡あれこれ
/教壇素材
談話室/ニュース/編纂後記

第十二巻・第四號：昭和十二年四月號

ソ・那に於ける宗教/和歌/受刑者監読書箱に於ける宗教書の地位 (二) /短歌/刑務
教誨/論改 (二) /教誨素材/共同社会と宗教/談話室/東京に於ける思想団体名/俳句/
教誨創始の苦心を語る座談会 (一) /ニュース/編纂後記

第十二巻・第五號：昭和十二年五月號

神道の本義と信教自由の問題/知能犯と宗教及道德の問題 (一) /重刑者の宗教意
識 (一) /刑務教誨意識 (一) /刑務教誨論改 (三) /教誨素材/どう生きるか/談話
室/教誨随想/拜命所感/東北院の聖/小刑務所論/座談会/教誨創始の苦心を語る (二)
/論文を募る/
ニュース/編纂後記

第十二巻・第六號：昭和十二年六月號

今日の転向者の問題について/知能犯罪と宗教及道德の問題 (二) /例話の取扱ひ
に就いて/教誨歎異抄 (十) /教誨素材/信念の輝き/拘禁者の家族と母子保護法
に就いて/座談会/教誨創始の苦心を語る (3) /全日本司法保護事業大会状況/ニ
ュース/編纂後記

第十二巻・第七號：昭和十二年七月號

ある問題に基く小論（一）合法的再出発ということについて/英国に於ける青少年者の犯罪/少年受刑者の運動機能について/重刑者の宗教意識（二）/法律・道徳・俗諦の三分化観/宗教的陶冶について/教誨歎異抄（十一）/教誨素材 生活するもの/随筆/八卦見⁴/談話室/府中・栃木見学の記/俳句:蝸螂/季吟/ニュース/編纂後記

第十二巻・第八號：昭和十二年八月號

大阪スラム街見学考/台湾思想犯の特殊性とその教化に就いて/受刑者の宗教意識（三・完）/スペイン戦争と教誨破壊/絶対の救済/教誨歎異抄（十二）/講話/社会政策について（一）/演習/大乘的生活を語る/素材/海軍記念日に於ける海軍大将山/本英転閣下の講演/受刑一年の断想/ある思想犯の手記/富士登山記/俳句/演習召集回顧/夏目抄/ニュース/編纂後記

第十二巻・第九號：昭和十二年九月號

新時代は試練を経る/仏教の護国思想を論じ行刑教化の精神に及ぶ/
ある問題に基く小論（二）/支那事変とコスゲズム/受刑者に対する吾等の態度/ソ●那は犯罪を克服する/入賞発表/教務刷新の理想を論ず/教化の苦心を語る/教化の苦心を語る/教化完成への道/素材/聖徳太子の罪悪感/講座/社会政策について（二）/大谷光照法王●下御親教の概況/ニュース

第十二巻・第十號：昭和十二年十月號

教育に於ける創造の理念（一）/教務刷新の理想を論ず/非常時に際し行刑上考察すべき/諸点/俳句/常会戦線/研究/行刑累進處遇令と仮釈放審査規定との連関性に関する問題について/少年強盗窮盗犯の盜癖に関するひと考察（一）/俳句/朝鮮の習作/感激の受刑者/保護者会の状況/ニュース/教誨師名簿

第十二巻・第十一號：昭和十二年十一月號

第十二回教誨師研究会開会式に於ける式辞祝辞/思想犯保護観察制度運営上の基本的動向/研究/妻帯関係家族関係より観たる初犯累犯/農園出役の教化に及ぼす影響についての一考察/教育に於ける創始の理念（二）/短歌/事変感懐/所思/教誨練習生を送りて/教誨事業主観客観/素材/無窮の生命道/朝鮮のつれづれ/ニュース

第十二巻・第十二號：昭和十二年十二月號

第十一回教誨師研究会閉会式に於ける式辞祝辞/論説/自由と辯證法（一）/教育に於ける創造の理念（三）/刑務教誨論改（四）/研究/少年強盗窮盗犯の盜癖に関する一考察（二）/農園刑務所と教化（一）/俳句/江南の秋/素材/
非常時社会潮の行刑面に及ぼせるもの/征族断簡（高田教誨師の便り）/
講座/非常時局に於ける我が国の經濟事情（一）/議会政治の動向（一）/
ニュース

⁴ Eight Trigrams?

Book 2 (1938)

第十三卷・第一號：昭和十三年一月號 (1938)

口絵・鹿児島刑務所に於ける大谷光照猊下/研究國體と統制機関/論説/日本精神の現代的役割/自由と辯證法（？）（二）/行刑累進處遇令中改正案に於ける主要問題に就いて/研究/農園刑務所と教化（二）/秋田県下に於ける放火犯罪（一）/俳壇/霜のこえ/素村/人道主義と浄土の慈悲・教誨歎異抄第十四/講座/検事生活と日本人/事変をもとめる列強の外交動向（一）/議会政治の動向（二）/非常時局に於ける我が国の經濟事情（二）

第十三卷・第二號：昭和十三年二月號

長崎教堂の新装と遷佛式/指導機関と自覚/研究/秋田県に於ける放火犯罪（二）/少年強盜、窮盜犯の盜癖に關する一考察/少年受刑者の境遇に就いて/戦時美談の取扱ひに就いて/俳句/みちのく/素村/行學としての聖浄一門・教誨歎異抄第十五/時局に際して/
講座/支那事變を暁る 列強の外交動向（三）/非常時局に於ける我が国の經濟事情（三）/議会政府の動向（三）

第十三卷・第三號：昭和十三年三月號

日本道德の基調と貫踐・教誨歎異抄第十/研究/軍用機献納の意義/秋田県に於ける放火犯罪（三・完）/少年強盜、窮盜犯の盜癖に關する一考察（四・完全）/北海道集治監史（一）/佛教戒律の理想と行刑教化の基本精神/遙かに陳中より/所感/教誨一年の所感/教誨随想い/総集教誨座談會/決死の謝罪/質實剛健/講座/支那事變を暁る 列強の外交動向（完）/議会政府の動向（完）/非常時局に於ける我が国の經濟事情（完）/教誨師名簿/訂正/本年度本誌掲載目録/戦時美談の取扱ひに就いて

第十三卷・第四號：昭和十三年四月號

研究/北海道集治監史（二）/少年行刑と社会的予後の問題/論説/
何を為すべきか/教務刷新の理想を論ず/詩・句/教誨素材/非常時と彼岸の意義/積尊の遺誠/講演・紀行/ペスタロッチーの教誨思想/四国山岳縦横記/時局鏡/
富山刑務所に於いて取扱ひたる應召美談/一収容者よりの来信/ニュース/編纂後記

第十三卷・第五號：昭和十三年五月號

研究/北海道集治監史（三）/少年行刑と社会的予後の問題（二）/台湾に於ける民族と犯罪/隨筆/青愁/素材/人間性と宗教/講演・紀行/ペスタロッチーの教誨思想（二）/四国山岳縦横記（二）/詩・句/陳中句/創作/母の教誨/ニュース/編纂後記

第十三卷・第六號：昭和十三年六月號

卷頭言 口頭禪に終える勿れ/塩野司法大臣訓示/瀧川行刑局長指示事項/一無碍道の徹底/研究/北海道集治監史（四）/少年行刑と社会的像後の問題（終）/台湾における民族と犯罪（終）/詩・句/風薫る/事局観/日本の姿/今日最尊/時局鏡・時局

と台湾思想犯の皇民化/輔成会創立二十五年記念司法保護大会決議事項/ニュース/
編纂後記

第十三巻・第七號：昭和十三年七月號

とびら繪/口繪 教務課長會同記念撮影卷頭言/卷頭言/働くことの尊さ/
教務課長會同答申書/労働訓育の精神的基礎と刑務教誨の使命/俳句 義州統軍亭
にて/行刑に於ける教化について/精神的基礎と刑務教誨について/心理学の理念⁵/
俳句 東海小吟/少年受刑者の保護関係より見たる初犯累犯/北海道集治監史 (五)
/俳句 中原の来秋/合財袋/五月雨のする頃/二つなき忠義に生きよ (教誨素材) /
談話室/彙報/教務課長會/同列記/現下時局に於ける教化の一端/盛岡少年刑務/所花
祭り/廣島控訴院管内教務研究/會開催状況/関東教誨師研究會/生きる/教誨師異動/
通信/編纂後記

第十三巻・第八號：昭和十三年八月號

卷頭言 知識と智慧/行刑教化の標識を樹てよ/重大時局下に於ける行刑教化の新
方針樹立について/俳句/朝鮮行刑累進處遇規則に現れたる/新●向並に其の主要問
題の意義について/心理学の理念/北海道集治監史 (六)/教誨強化と人格/随想/
『太陽の子』を觀て/土浦地方大水害略記/感激と自己反省 (教壇素材) /談話室/
累報

第十三巻・第九號：昭和十三年九月號

卷頭言/時局を見つめて/行刑と行事教育/満州国行刑の教化問題/心理学の理念
(三) /収容者の日本的理念の問題/受刑者の改善可能の問題/北海道集治監史 (七)
/俳句 迷子/向月吹胡笳/俳句/慶念坊の事蹟 (一) /胡金林憲昭君・胡末森尚治君
を悼む/奉公の道 (教壇素材) /談話室/累報/編纂後記

第十三巻・第十號：昭和十三年十月號

卷頭言/第十二回刑務教誨研究會開會式々辞/第十二回刑務教誨研究會發會式祝辞/
時局と少年行刑に於ける教化について/国家の為の愛山護法と教誨師の立場/
心理学の理念 (四) /収容者の日本的理念の問題 (二) /北海道集治監史 (八) /俳
句/「刑務教誨強化」についての座談会 (一) /慶念坊の事蹟 (二) /涼を逢 (?)
うて/累報 第十二回 刑務教誨研究会 /編纂後記

第十三巻・第十一號：昭和十三年十一月號

卷頭言/行刑教誨に於ける人格の力/魂の教化/教誨報國の誠を奉げん/教誨に於け
る佛性の問題/農園刑務所に於ける懲罰に就いて/心理学の理念 (五) /北海道集治
監史 (九) /「刑務教誨強化」についての座談会 (二) /真心の尊さ (教壇素材)
/談話室/小河内村の秋 (俳句) /累報/編纂後記

⁵ This is a translation of Wilhelm Dilthey.

第十三卷・第十二號：昭和十三年十二月號

卷頭言/國體学/収容者の日本の理念の問題/心理学の理念（六）/北海道集治監史（十）/京時雨（俳句）/戦線を語る（教壇素材）/悲嘆（俳句）/累報/編纂後記

Book 3 (1939)

第十四卷・第一號：昭和十四年一月號 (1939)

國體（国体）学/惟神（かんながら）」の大道/新春雑吟（俳句）/左翼思想犯の教誨に關する若干の意見/悲しき正月（短歌）/彙報/日支事変戦死職員慰靈際—第六回東北研究會—國民精神作興週間中—/政容者に連続講義—經濟戦強調週間の貫施要綱—入佛式/魚族慰靈法會の状況—御挨拶/編纂後記

教誨研究 第十四卷・第二號 昭和十四年二月號

行刑教化に就いて/國體学（三）/惟神の大道（二）/春部漫歩（俳句）/肇国精神の發揚と空觀/妙興寺（俳句）/旭川のプロファイル（隨筆）/菩薩道としての日本精神（教壇素材）/彙報/六七會第十三回研究會開催さる—徒軍布教師特別教誨

第十四卷・第三號 昭和十四年三月號

國體學（三）/銃後を護る國民としての覚悟/記紀の根本思想/善に立帰る途/脚下一路（俳句）/彙報/最近の構太事情—想園—教化の一断面—誌代領収/編纂後記

第十四卷・第四號 昭和十四年四月號

記紀の根本思想（続）/宗教的指導秩序説/構戸集治監の農工事業（続）/記述的分析的心理学の理念（続）/彙報/国旗の下に感激—尾道刑務支所—思想國防大構演會/概況—鳥取県給産會—司法保護事業法—司法保護委員規定—その他

第十四卷・第五號 昭和十四年五月號

教化と着眼点/檢察・裁判・行刑及び保護/記紀の根本思想（続・完）/眞俗二諦に就いて/記述的分析的心理学の理念（八）/受刑者教化としての俳句/教誨の泉/保護事業の體驗を語る(Fuji Eshō)/俳壇/トロの春/浅き春/彙報/花まつり—花祭子供の夕—映書觀賞/關東教誨研究會—廣島刑務所花まつり—その他

第十四卷・第六號 昭和十四年六月號

論説/教化の科学的進出/時局の現段階と思想行刑/ザウエルの刑事社會學に就いて/宗教的指導私見/日本文化の特質(Uno Enkū)/想苑/教誨の泉（続）/新協劇団の『神聖家族』を見る/教化機能充貫並に保護委員制度/接見所の横顔/俳・歌壇/春潮/若葉庭/教務課長を辞する歌/彙報/關東教誨研究會春季總會—幸末會—乙亥會/長崎管内研究會—鳥取花まつり—奮戦徒軍記/異動—その他

第十四卷・第七號 昭和十四年七月號

論説/儀礼の蔽淵（？）と教化/教育刑と倫理刑/諸博に関する考察（一）/宗教的指導私見/行刑と音楽/日本文化の特質/想苑/日本精神と佛教/教誨の泉/保護事業の体験を語る（二）/ Fujii Eshō/少年保護を語る/俳壇/青田/彙報/入佛式状況（東京拘留所、金山刑務所）—海軍記念日の感激/異動—その他

***Prison Chaplaincy and Probation (教誨と保護 Kyōkai to Hogo)*⁶**

第十四卷・第七號 昭和十四年七月號

論説/研究所の開所に當りて/教誨保護事業の新なる発足に対して/教誨及保護の使命（上）/思想犯保護の今日の問題・一つの序論として/宗教的指導私見（四）/思想転向の葛藤/日本文化の特質（三）/想苑/保護事業の体験を語る（三）/現地・ルポルタージュ/土と受刑者/慰問袋献納/新劇「デッド・エンド」を観る/俳壇/かたばみ/彙報/
執筆者紹介・本所規定・原橋募集・編纂後記

第十四卷・第九號 昭和十四年九月號

教誨と保護の使命/教化の重点/銃後少年の為の法律/現代に活きる佛陀/転向の論理と情意性/諸博に関する考察/釈放より再入までの考察/随想/回顧断想/教誨と教育と宗教/行刑教化はこのままでよいか/支那監獄を観る

Book 4 (1941)⁷

第一六卷 新春と特別號（昭和16年）(1941)

行刑に於ける重点主義/思想問題と教誨/東北院の聖/無我と臣道/『犯罪少年の精神生活について』読評/新春論文特輯號/結核受刑者の生活態度/犯罪因果の一考察/尊攘殺人の研究/時局犯罪と教誨私見/ある思想犯の手記より・俳句/大谷派司法保護事業大会状況

二月號（昭和16年）

最近の総集教誨について/十六年度行刑像算の展望/転向者歎異抄/無我と臣道/尊族殺人の研究/総集教誨の思い出の記/続・私の報告書/農園刑務所の一断面/俳句と短歌/国境風景/母心/構外作業出役受刑者の偶作/彙報・第一回司法保護婦人講座開催・藤井恵昭の『司法保護委員制度の運営出づ』/『監獄教誨史編纂』進む編纂後記

三月號

⁶ The title changes with this edition.

⁷ Note: Ryūkoku's Book 3 is 1939, and Book 4 is 1941, so there is no volume for 1940. The 1940 editions are mostly missing from the Ryūkoku Collection. Ryūkoku also has 2 copies labeled as volume 4, but they are not identical. One of them contains all 12 journals for 1941, but the other contains only 10, so two are missing from this latter volume too. (The one labeled 副本 (duplicate) is incomplete). Book 5 contains 2 journals from 1940, but the rest in that volume date from 1942 and are reduplicated in Book 6. It seems that the 1940 journals are mostly lost—unless there are copies at Ōtani University Library.

朝鮮に於ける行刑教育の紹介/刑務教誨の新體制/無我と臣道/
死刑囚物語/映書「罪なき町」と「みかへりの塔」/随感随想/
時局と犯罪/婦人の言葉/たやすく死ねぬ/無碍居随筆/受刑少年の宗教教育並其の
關心/最も感銘を受けた宗教書及其感想/俳句/ゆきつぶて/雑詠/
編纂後記

四月號

第一回司法時保護婦人講座（絵）/家族制度と司法保護事業/八王子少年刑務所における受刑少年の精神病的分析/無我と臣道/結核受刑者の教化/観音（教誨演習）/閑居十年（俳句）/ある日の接見室/小田原少年刑務所參觀の感想/彙報欄・第一回司法時保護婦人講座/編纂後記

五月號

新體制と教誨の理念及びその貫践/關東教誨師研究会昭和十五年度例会協議事項/帚草/時局下青少年の指導を如何にすべきか/刑務官吏と修養/古稀陳言/
岩倉政治氏の『生くる限り』についての座談会/最も感銘を受けた宗教書及其感想/花祭と運動會/廣島刑務所の花祭と運動會/尾の道刑務所支所に於ける花祭と運動會/東京拘置所の花祭/彙報欄・第三回教誨師養成所開所さる/編纂後記

六月號

新體制と教誨の理念及びその貫践/支那事變と文化運動/關東教誨師研究会昭和十五年度例会協議事項/思い出/大陸の朝/古稀陳言/第十二回乙亥會研究會記/
新體制下に於ける行刑教化/最も感銘を受けた宗教書及びその感想/彙報欄

七月號

司法保護事業と婦人の使命/親鸞上人の化土思想と地獄観る/新体制と教誨の理念及びその実践/保護委員の資格（藤井恵昭）/公と私/近頃読んだ本/思ひ出/教誨素材（親心）/描かれた感化院の娘たち/七・七赤誠譜/

八月號

新體制と教誨の理念及び其貫践/真宗教学より眺めたる行刑教化の根本理念/禮法教誨の提唱/事務修習雜考/古稀陳言/師弟の対面（戦線美談）/教家よ熱情を持って/彙報欄

九月號

司法保護記念日を迎えるに際して/弘誓の鎧を破りて/類似宗教事犯に就いて（竹中眞二）/肇国史上の女性を偲ぶ/やくざと拘禁生活/行刑教化に於ける佛教の根本儀/震災当時の思い出/短歌・俳句/亡き母/初嵐/雑詠/暁天教誨「おぼん」/収容者の時局認識/永井哲二著「轉換期の佛教」/彙報欄/編纂後記

十月號

類似宗教事犯に就いて/少年行刑鍊成規定の發令を祀して/

不安に安んず/阿部教授の教育学を再読して/春雨（俳句）/青色青光/秋日抄/
燈下随想/元賓/岩倉政治氏の新著「村長日記」に誨へらる/梅原眞隆著「歎異抄講
話」を讀みて/彙報欄/編纂後記

十一月號

親切心/臨戦態勢下の行刑（正木亮）/昭和十六年度教誨師研究會/所感発表講談會
の記/第十三回 教誨師研究會特輯號/第十三回 教誨師研究會誌/彙報欄/編纂後
記

第十二月號

人的資源と生産拡充/少年行刑教育に於ける当面の問題/昭和十六年度教誨師研究
會/所感発表講談會の記/青色青光/御同朋の心持（藤井恵昭）/教誨日記抄/紙芝居/
愛獄/鐵窓に●ふ白衣の勇士/母なればこそ/彙報欄/編纂後記

Book 5 (1940)⁸

第十五卷・第三號（昭和15年）(1940)

司法保護と映書/教化妙典としての大無量寿經（続）/死刑囚物語（続）（藤井恵
昭）/私の報告書/累犯十入以上者案描/イリサベス・フライの偉績（富井隆信）/
教誨師を拝命して/大陸便り/書評

七月號（昭和15年）(1940)

刑務法改正と教誨について（藤井恵昭）/構外作構の教化に就いて/監獄法第七十
条の適用について/長州を中心としたる尊攘運動の思想継続/去年一年の本誌記事
中何に感銘したか/鼠と猫と犬と/続・酒と教誨師/頂門の一箴/母の会座談会

八月随筆特輯（昭和15年）(1940)

リスト刑法学の哲学的基礎/構外作業者の教化対策/山憲事件後日譚（死刑囚物
語・藤井恵昭和）/録陰随想/厚生婦人訪問記/彙報/研究所特報・会員動静/

第一七卷 新年號（昭和十七年）(1942)⁹

口絵・第二回司法保婦人講座/護大詔を拝載し奉りて/百万人針の發願/行刑より見
たる保護/労務管理の諸問題/道義的行刑/決戦態勢下の構外作業に於ける教化/母
なき家/小寄講（俳句）/続・教誨日記抄/彙報欄/編纂後記

二月號（昭和十七年）(1942)

日本精神の根底/労務管理の諸問題/類似宗教事犯について（その三・竹中真二）
¹⁰/父娘浄土/俳句と短歌/霜/大詔を拝しまつりて/愛河/徒然草/生活の反省/彙報欄/
後記

⁸ This book contains 2 journals from 1940, and then the rest are from 1942. This is likely due to clerical error. The 1940 editions are thus incomplete.

⁹ Beginning here, the remainder of this volume, Book 5, is reduplicated in Book 6. This is probably due to clerical error.

三月號 (昭和十七年) (1942)

恩赦の御仁悲/聖恩ありがたし(藤井恵昭)/時局行刑の動向(上)/類似宗教事犯に就いて(終・竹中真二)/刑罰の倫理的価値に關する一考察/大東亜戦争の精神的戦果/聖地日向の感懐/海ゆかば/厚生のため/文学的表現のこと/霜島山に就いて/衣料節符制と保護事務/短歌と俳句/戦提祀行事/彙報欄と後記

四月號 (昭和十七年) (1942)

死の解決/大東亜共栄圏の建設と親鸞教徒の使命(藤井恵昭)/司法家族保護の覚え書き/青年錬成所の及第と脱第/時局行刑の動向(下)/木の芽鮎(俳句)/美しき愛情/「日本の思想文化」を読む(書評)/彙報欄/編纂後記

五月號 (昭和十七年) (1942)

決戦態勢下に於ける教誨の任務/看読書箱に關する考察/教化への一考察/新入受刑者に興ふる(?)の文/周東青年錬成所第一回修了式状況/台湾雑感/野村重臣著戦争と思想(書評)/彙報欄/編纂後記

六月號 (昭和十七年) (1942)

総力戦に於ける思想戦の役割/葉陰魂/独居訪問とその思ひ出とその心構へ(藤井恵昭)/教化の重点主義に就いて/戦時下に於ける行刑教化/大東亜戦争下教化に關する卑見/決戦態勢下教化施行状況/戦時下の少年教化/戦時教誨の貫施と試案/皇軍に対する感謝特別教誨施行/戦時下の重刑者達/決戦下の教誨理念/少年教化と紙芝居/海軍記念日特別補導 本願寺派兵軍司法保護事業協会/俳句/彙報欄

Book 6 (1942)¹¹

第一七卷 新年號 (昭和17年) (1942) (duplicate)

大詔の拝載し奉りて/百万人針の発願/行刑より見たる保護/労務管理の諸問題/道義的行刑/決戦態勢下の構外作業に於ける教化/母なき家/小寄講(俳句)/続・教誨日記抄/彙報欄/編纂後記

二月號 (昭和17年) (1942) (duplicate)

日本精神の根底/労務管理の諸問題/類似宗教事犯について/父娘浄土/俳句と短歌/霜/大詔を拝しまつりて/愛河/徒然草/生活の反省/彙報欄/後記

三月號 (昭和17年) (1942) (duplicate)

恩赦の御仁悲/聖恩ありがたし/時局行刑の動向(上)/類似宗教事犯に就いて(終)/刑罰の倫理的価値に關する一考察/大東亜戦争の精神的戦果/聖地日向の感

¹⁰ The earlier installments of this article are to be found in 1941. Vols. 9 (September) and 10 (October). Unfortunately, these volumes are not included in the Ryūkyō collection.

¹¹ This one is organized properly with journals from 1942 in chronological order, but one appears to be missing. This is perhaps due to my own oversight, but it could have been a clerical error in the binding.

懐/海ゆかば/厚生のため/文学的表現のこと/霜島山に就いて/衣料節符制と保護
事務/短歌と俳句/戦提祀(?)行事/彙報欄と後記

四月號 (昭和 17 年) (1942) (duplicate)

死の解決/大東亜共栄圏の建設と親鸞教徒の使命/司法家族保護の覚え書き/青年錬
成所の及第と脱第/時局行刑の動向/木の芽鮎(俳句)/美しき愛情/「日本の思想
文化」を読む(書評)/彙報欄/編纂後記

五月號 (昭和 17 年) (1942) (duplicate)

決戦態勢下に於ける教誨の任務/看読書箱に関する考察/教化への一考察/
新入受刑者に興ふる(?)の文/周東青年錬成所第一回修了式状況/台湾雑感/
野村重臣著戦争と思想(書評)/彙報欄/編纂後記

六月號 (昭和 17 年) (1942) (duplicate)

総力戦に於ける思想戦の役割/葉陰魂/独居訪問とその思ひ出とその心構へ/
教化の重点主義に就いて/戦時下に於ける行刑教化/大東亜戦争下教化に関する卑
見/決戦態勢下教化施行状況/戦時下の少年教化/戦時教誨の貫施と試案/皇軍に対
する感謝特別教誨施行/戦時下の重刑者達/決戦下の教誨理念/少年教化と紙芝居/
海軍記念日特別補導 本願寺派兵軍司法保護事業協会/俳句/彙報欄

七月號 (昭和 17 年) (1942) (New material begins here)

葉陰魂/独居訪問とその思ひ出とその心構へ(藤井恵昭)/少年受刑者の再犯に就
いて/婦人犯罪とその保護に関する座談会/戦時下に於ける行刑教化(二)/教化要
項の概要/戦争目的完遂に精進(朝鮮大田刑務所)/天業翼賛の兵士として/皇国民
への錬成を目指して/新聞紙の回覧板/一級受刑者の利用/大東亜戦争の意義を簡明
/夏目遂想/大東亜戦争下宮崎刑務所教務の貫状/鮎五寸(俳句)/彙報欄

八月號

禅と念仏/思想犯補導の積極化/独居訪問とその思ひ出とその心構へ(藤井恵昭)/
獄を拝む/皇国に殉じた転向者今本文吉君(藤川慈学)/回教問題を語る/高野山の
夏/戦時下に於ける教化対策/夏座敷(俳句)/馬祭(俳句)/和尊会母子寮訪問記/
彙報欄/編纂後記

九月號

転向とその純化/準少年受刑者の錬成に就いて/続・類似宗教事犯に就いて竹中真
二)/青年錬成の諸問題/軍神加藤少将の英霊を弔ふ/反省と教化/戦時下に於ける
行刑教化/暁天教誨『盂蘭盆』/累犯者の妻/今潮秋(俳句)/岩手登山(俳句)/彙
報欄

十月號

続・類似宗教事犯に就いて・天理教及び天理本道の性格(竹中真二)/戦時下行
刑教化の態勢と前衛としての本領/青年錬成の諸問題/余計録/老年並に不具廢疾受

刑者の一考察 離的生/司法保護覚え書き/慈愛の導き/大東亜戦争完遂/心身鍛錬週
間貫施に就て/紙芝居の今昔/第四回教誨師研究会日記抄/京街道（俳句）/彙報欄

十一月號

続・類似宗教事犯に就いて・天理教及び天理本道の性格（竹中真二）/経済犯と
大乘的法理念の確立を論ず/少年受刑者と映書/戦時下行刑教化の態勢と前衛とし
ての本領/行刑教育雑感/早くつかまわって有難い/小さな死/第四回教誨師研究会日
記抄/日本鋼管会社見学記/朝鮮司法保護事業大会記/俳句/彙報欄/編纂/後記/

十二月號

戦時下の行刑/経済犯と大乘的法理念の確立を論ず/受刑者の余暇生活に關する一
考の中間情報/自分の自己/俳句/少年受刑者の講外作業考/戦時下の教誨に就いて/
彙報欄/編纂後記

Book 7 (1942-1943)¹²

第十七卷 第七号 七月號 (still 1942) (duplicate)

葉隠魂 田中秀寶（2）/獨居訪問の思い出とその心講へ 藤井恵照（八）/少
年受刑者の再犯に就て（一二）/婦人犯罪とその保護に關する座談会/戦時下に於
ける行刑教化/教化要項の概要 小菅刑務所教務課/戦争目的完遂に精進 朝鮮大
田刑務所教務課/天業翼賛の兵士として 岡山刑務所教務課/皇国民への鍊成を目
指して 神戸拘置所教務課/新聞紙の閲覧板 刑務所教務課/一級受刑者の利用
松江刑務所教務課/大東亜戦争の意義を簡明 高知刑務所教務課/夏目即逐想 栗
田紀道/大東亜戦争下宮崎刑務所教務の貫状 宮崎刑務所教務課/俳句/彙報欄

九月號 (1942) (duplicate)

転向とその純化 楠下 蔓芳輝/準少年受刑者の鍊成に就て 苺屋公正/続・類似
宗教事犯について（竹中真二）/一本槍 老亀/反省と教化/戦時下に於ける行刑
教化 宮城刑務所教務課/暁天教誨『孟蘭盆』 神戸刑務所教務課/累犯者の妻
岩本きく/俳句/彙報欄

十月號 (1942) (duplicate)

続・類似宗教事犯に就て（竹中真二）/戦時下行刑教化の體勢と前衛としての本
領 高山舜泰/青年鍊成の諸問題 杉原隆演/余計録 老亀/老年並に不具廢疾受刑
者の一考察 離的生/司法保護覚え書き/慈愛の導き/大東亜戦争完遂/心身鍛錬週
間貫施に就て/紙芝居の今昔/第四回教誨師研究会日記抄/俳句/彙報欄

¹² This is the last volume in the Ryūkoku library. It is out of order. It contains several volumes from late 1942 and the first 4 months of 1943.

第十一月號 (1942) (duplicate)

続・類似宗教事犯に就いて/経済犯と大乘的法理念の確立を論ず/少年受刑者と映書/戦時下行刑教化の體勢と前衛としての本領/行刑教育雜感/早く捕まって有難い/小さな死/第四回教誨師研究会日記抄/朝鮮司法保護事業大会記/俳句/彙報欄

十二月號 (1942) (duplicate)

戦時下の行刑/経済犯と大乘的法理念の確立を論ず/受刑者の余暇生活に関する一考の中間情報/自分の自己/俳句/少年受刑者の構外作業考/戦時下の教誨に就いて/彙報欄/編纂後記

新年號 (1943) (New material begins here)

大東亜戦争と文化/厚生問題/受刑訓の徹底に就いて/司法保護事業「婦人」の使命/年頭雀語/戦時行刑と非常体制/俳句/新春に誓ふ/大東亜戦争一周年記念行事 小菅刑務所教務課/戦時下の教誨に就いて/彙報欄/編纂後記

二月號 (1943)

司法保護の事業の動向/統制経済の諸相と国民錬成/真宗の世界観/大東亜戦下に於ける思想犯/釈放者保護上より見たる教誨/俳句/『出る』と『出す』/俳句/北越に御正忌を迎へて/ある日の出来事/大東亜戦争一周年記念行事 函館刑務所教務課

三月號 (1943)

錬成/直柱の道/防犯と保護に就いて/続・類似宗教事犯に就いて/半島少年受刑者/雜考/閑想/井の頭の森/前科抹消に関する問題/戦時下向けられるべき教誨の視野/映書『愛の世界』を観る/家族保護ノート/司法保護『慈善鍋』/東本願寺法主台下を迎へて/俳句

四月號 (1943)

直柱の道/錬成と宗教的信念/続・類似宗教事犯に就いて/雜音/俳句/彙報欄

Appendix C:

Field Notes from a Tenrikyō Group Religious Chaplaincy Session.

Fall Festival of Souls (*Aki no Mitama Matsuri*).

Conducted at Fuchū Prison in September, 2015.

On an early autumn morning in September of 2015 I attended a Tenrikyō group religious chaplain session at Fuchū Prison. This session was to mark the Fall Festival of Souls (*Aki no Mitama Matsuri*). One of the Tenrikyō chaplains explained, “It is like our [Tenrikyō] version of *Ohigan* (お彼岸).” I arrived at the prison and met the three chaplains, and then we checked in with the education and rehabilitation department office (矯正と教育 *kyōsei to kyōiku*).

In the office, the three chaplains took turns changing behind a petition. Each emerged wearing the ceremonial robes (教服 *Kyōfuku*) of the Tenrikyō priesthood. These uniforms consist of black cassocks with wide sleeves and elaborate designs embroidered in white on the cuffs and around the collar. The outfit is completed by white *tabi* socks and sandals and topped by a black hat with white embroidery.

I followed the three chaplains and a guard assigned as our escort to a chapel marked with the words Shintō chapel (*Shintō Kyōkaishitsu* 神道教誨室). Fuchū Prison features three chapels: one for Christianity, one for Buddhism, and one for Shinto. The front of the room was covered in tatami mats, but in the rear the flooring was bare. Six inmates were waiting, seated on the tatami when we arrived. I entered through a rear door and sat behind the inmates next to a guard on a folding chair that had been set out for me on the flooring.

The three chaplains filed in from the front of the room between the inmates and a simple *kamidana*. As the three chaplains entered, the guard seated to my left called out the orders “Bow!” and “At ease!” (“*Rei! Naore!*”), and the six inmates moved synchronized to these commands. The chaplains bowed in return.

The chaplains were now standing before the *kamidana*. Between them and the altar there were four small offertory tables laid out with various ritual implements and offerings: two wooden wands with white paper streamers (大麻 *ōnusa*) to be used in the purification ritual (禊祓 *harai*); a white clay *sake* bottle (empty); white cup-shaped objects stacked into a pyramid; and an white ball resembling a pounded rice cake (餅 *mochi*). The sacred mirror was visible within the *kamidana*, reflecting the fluorescent overhead lights of the room. Above the *kamidana* and its mirror, a calligraphic print hung over our heads displaying the characters for *Shintō* (神道).

Although Tenrikyō cut ties with the Sectarian Shintō Union in April of 1970, the group had been counted as one of the thirteen sects of Shintō from 1932. It seems that the prison authorities assigned Tenrikyō priests to Shinto chapel as a matter of expediency. (When I inquired about the room later, the Tenrikyō chaplains were pragmatic; they did not seem to mind sharing the Shintō chapel with Jinja Honchō and Konkōkyō chaplains.)

The chaplain leading the session sat in the middle and produced scroll inscribed with a prayer, *Fuchū Keimushō Mitama Matsuri Harai Kotoba* (府中刑務所御霊祭祓詞). He began to read:

We announce with trepidation that here in Fuchū Prison we humbly venerate from afar Tenri Ō no Mikoto who resides at the *Jiba*. On this day we conduct the rites of the Festival of Souls as a chaplaincy session to mark the anniversaries of the passing of loved ones [of those assembled here]. To that end, we humbly request that those assembled here—beginning with the supplicants, each having been

purified by the breeze of the hemp wands and having received the refreshing purification of the Heavenly hemp thread—may be permitted to perform beautifully the rites of this ceremony.

When this reading was completed, all those assembled performed the Tenrikyō ritual for greeting the divinity: bow once (in greeting); clap four times; bow once more deeply (in veneration); clap four more times; and bow one final time (in closing). Now the other two chaplains took up the purification wands laid out on the table before the altar, and they waved these in sweeping arcs over the heads of the inmates. As each wand whooshed through the still air of the room, the paper streamers made rustling sounds like leaves in a breeze. According to the Shintō Encyclopedia, these wands, combined with a prayer for purification (祓詞 *harae kotoba*), have long been thought to have the power to exorcise ritual impurities (罪穢 *tsumi kegare*).¹

Once this purification rite was completed, another chaplain took center stage. He produced a scroll bearing the title *Fuchū Keimusho Reisai Saimon* (府中刑務所靈祭祭文). He read:

On the occasion of this chaplaincy session at Fuchū Prison held to mark the anniversaries of the passing of loved ones, with those assembled here having been purified by the heavenly hemp thread, before the spirits, I, chaplain of Fuchū prison, humbly announce:

As distant clouds rising obscure the clear light of the moon passing through the sky, and as a tempest lays waste to the proud, blossoming treetops of a spring mountain, bringing grief—Spirits, you too were unable to escape the ways of this world, and from the time you passed away for rebirth, morning and night these assembled here have missed you in their hearts. They think upon days past constantly and never forget you even for a moment, and because they will always remember you, we have planned at this time, on this auspicious day, to conduct the rites of the Autumn Festival of Souls. Therefore, we humbly ask you to consent in peace and with ease that from this day forward you will reside within the hearts of these assembled here; keep their bodies healthy; keep them free from things that would be cause for guilt; keep them free from worry; guard them at

¹ See the entries for *tsumi* and *kegare* in Miyaji (1988).

night; guard them by day; and keep watch; and lead them towards happiness.
With trepidation, so do we humbly pray.

Once he finished the prayer, the chaplain invited the inmates to approach the altar one by one to greet the divinity. One by one, the men approached and kneeled before the altar in the *seiza* position, bowed once (in greeting), clapped four times, bowed more deeply (in veneration), clapped four more times, and then bowed (in closing) . As each man stepped up, one of the chaplains confirmed his name and the name of the departed relative (御霊 *mitama*, spirit) he had come to memorialize. “You are Mr. So-and-so? Okay. And you are here for your mother, Mrs. So-and-so, correct? Okay.” One of the chaplains said later that on occasion some will come to venerate the spirits of victims of their crimes, but on this day four of the inmates were there for their fathers and the other two for their mothers.

Once each inmate had taken his turn at the altar, the chaplain who had read the opening prayer for ritual purification returned to the central seat. He began the sermon (説教 *sekkyō*).²

“Thank you all for coming here today to memorialize your parents in this Autumn Festival of Souls. I am sure that their spirits must be pleased seeing your sincere prayers. The Autumn Festival of Souls (秋の御霊祭 *aki no mitama matsuri*), corresponds roughly to the Buddhist *Higan* holiday. We are here to venerate the spirits of our ancestors and parents and those with whom we have some close connection (縁 *en*). So, the theme for today's sermon will be the Tenrikyō view of life and death (死生観 *shiseikan*).

² I took notes throughout, and the chaplain also provided me with a draft version of his sermon later. Here I have largely translated his draft, but I have also included things that he said on the day (as recorded in my own notes) that did not appear in the written text I received later.

Here in this room right now we have three chaplains, six inmates, one guard, and one guest, a student researching about chaplaincy. So that means there are eleven people in this room right now. We have all had very different lives, but I am sure we also all share at least one or two important things in common: we have all received life from our parents who created us, and one day each of us will certainly die.

In Tenrikyō, we believe that our physical body is a thing borrowed (借り物 *karimono*) from God. Our doctrine holds that the only thing that is truly our own is our hearts (心 *kokoro*). Our souls (魂 *tamashii*) cannot be seen, but God has lent our souls these physical bodies so that we could return to this world. In Tenrikyō, this doctrine is known as the “Principle of a Thing Lent and a Thing Borrowed” (貸し物・借り物の理 *kashimono karimono no ri*). We also believe that death is really departing for rebirth (出直し *denaoshi*). Life is not something that just goes around one time. Dying is the start of a new life.

In that case, our ancestors will return to this world for rebirth when they pass away. This means that they are not in this altar (*kamidana*) or in a Buddhist altar (*butsudan*) or in the grave. So why do we go to visit graves (お墓参り *ohaka mairi*) or come to events like today’s Festival of Souls? Isn’t it a waste of time to memorialize the departed souls of people who have returned to this world already?

It is not so. All of us have been born into this world precisely because we had parents who gave us life. If our parents or grandparents had not existed, then we would never have been born, right? So it is thanks to the lives of our ancestors that we are all able to be here today. Clasp our hands in prayer and venerate those parents and ancestors is a very important thing. I believe that they will be happy to see that we pay

our respects, and I also believe that this attitude towards our ancestors is connected to making our own lives shine (命が輝くことにつながる *inochi ga kagayaku koto ni tsunagaru*).

In that sense, I believe that the spirits will certainly be pleased to see that all of you have come here today to listen to a chaplain discuss religion. By developing a grateful heart, we can please the spirits, and I am sure if your parents are still alive, then they will be pleased too.

Therefore, I would like to emphasize that although you have come to hear Tenrikyō chaplains today, I also think it would be good for you to listen to chaplains from other religions too. Christianity, Buddhism, Shintō. All of these religions have the power to make our hearts better, and if we can change [for the better] by listening to these teachings, then our growth will also please the spirits.

So far I have been talking about the value of cultivating gratitude towards the spirits. Now I would like to discuss methods for making our own lives better. I mentioned earlier [that in Tenrikyō we teach that] we have souls [of our own] and bodies [borrowed from God], and we are reborn over and over into this very world. If that is the case, then doesn't it mean that our deeds are recorded in our souls? When we pass away for rebirth, this record is not extinguished. I believe it remains [over the course of many lifetimes] and builds upon itself.

In Tenrikyō, we teach that in this life we are working out our past karma (因縁納消 *innen nasshō*). I just mentioned that the deeds we do and the way we use our hearts are distinct from the physical body, connected to the life before and to the next. The good that we do comes back, and the evil that we do comes back too.

I have come to think of this [remnant] as something like a savings account with the divine bank (神様銀行の貯金通帳 *kami-sama ginkō no chokin Tsūchō*) that is built into our souls. Anybody would be glad if their savings increase, right? I believe that God watches over us and sees how we use our hearts every day and how we behave. I think that when we act to make others happy and to help others, then our moral savings increase, and when we do the opposite, our savings are depleted. There is no point in saying ‘I am too old, I can’t turn it around now.’ Why? Because the soul continues to live, and the balance with the heavenly savings account (天の通帳銀行の残高 *ama no tsūchō ginkō no zandaka*) influences one’s future lives. If I put this heavenly savings account metaphor into religious language, I might be able to refer to it as virtue (徳 *toku*). I certainly hope for each of you that you will work to increase your moral savings, to develop virtue in your souls.

In Tenrikyō, we share the collective goal of trying to realize an ideal world [where people can enjoy the] joyous life (陽気ぐらしという世界 *yōki gurashi to iu sekai*). The joyous life means making a world where all people help each other and live in cooperation. There are, however, ways of the heart that obstruct the goal of Joyous Living, and in Tenrikyō we teach that these obstructions are the eight dusts (八つほこり *yatsu hokori*): miserliness, greed, hatred, self-love, grudge-bearing, anger, covetousness, and arrogance.³

These dusts build up every day, but we call them dusts because through some simple cleaning they can be taken care of. However, if the dusts build up too much, it

³をしい、ほしい、にくい、かわい、うらみ、ほらだち、よく、こうまん.

becomes difficult to clean them up. For this reason we are taught that it is important to clean the dusts from one's heart every day.

I was once the chaplain for a man who had been in this prison for eighteen years. Eighteen years means he was one step away from the death penalty, right? He came to see me diligently for a long period of time. He even recommended to other inmates around him that they come to meet with Tenrikyō chaplains. In Tenrikyō we have the teaching that helping others is the way to help oneself (人をたすけて我が身たすかる *hito wo tasukete wagami tasukaru*). I think he probably wanted to help as many others in prison as he possibly could. This man was eventually released from prison, and I hear that he returned to his hometown where he is now working and doing well.

On the other hand, unfortunately I have also known people who wound up institutionalized again soon after their release from this prison. Some came back here, some were sent to other prisons, I know a number of cases like this. I heard from one of them that he felt he just couldn't stop himself. If I put it in the language of the eight dusts, he was struggling with covetousness (*ほしい hoshii*), that was the cause. He couldn't control himself. For that reason he has been in and out [of prison] a number of times.

Everyone, please think about this. You may believe that the crime you committed hurt no one, caused no injury, but what about the ancestral spirits who watch over you? Don't you think they would be saddened by your crimes? I think they would much rather see you living a joyous life. I am sure, for example, that they are pleased to see you coming to see chaplains today.

I will close now by praying for each and every one of you that every day you will steadily devote yourselves to practicing ways of the heart that will bring joy to others and

that will help others; that you will increase your balance with the heavenly bank; and that you will live in such a way as to cultivate virtue in your lives.”

When the chaplain had finished his speech, the guard once again called out “Bow! At ease!” The inmates and the chaplains exchanged bows, and the session ended.

Appendix D:

**Transcript of an Interview with former President of the Chaplains' Union,
Hirano Toshioki, Shin Priest and Death Row Chaplain at Tokyo Detention House.
(10/3/2014)**

Adam: I'd like to ask you about the role of the prison chaplain. You mentioned earlier that you feel gratitude towards your clients. To someone who doesn't know about chaplaincy, this sounds surprising. Can you please explain how this relates to your role as a chaplain?

Hirano: It is not easy to put this concisely. Every person I meet is different. Just because a person has committed a crime, it doesn't mean they will be similar to someone else who is behind bars for the same crime. They all think differently and they have different personalities.

But they have all lived through some adversity (逆境 *gyakkyō*). Perhaps they come from dire poverty, or their parents divorced, or they couldn't cut it at school. There are many background factors involved (様々な要因がある *samazama na yōin ga aru*). In the end, they have ended up living behind bars (塙の中 *hei no naka*). This means that they are alone (孤独になった *kodoku ni natta*). When they were free, they may have gone about committing crimes, but once they are inside, they feel loneliness in a different way than people on the outside do. Now you and I might feel lonely, but it is not the same. Basically we are free. You want to go for a walk? Then you can go. But for them,

for the first time, this freedom is no longer possible. They realize “I am well and truly alone now.” Typically they have been abandoned by their parents too.

Now, if you take a lonely person, and they meet someone who does care about them [like the chaplain], then that is a most happy thing. In prison, the inmate might not care about rehabilitation (更生 *kōsei*) at all. There are some people in prison who fall into despair (自暴自棄 *jibō jiki*). What they really want is to feel a connection between human hearts. (人間と人間の心の触れ合い *ningen to ningen no kokoro no fureai*). The warmth of another person’s heart is what these people need.

Even for me, living in normal society, I might not think of the importance of the warmth that comes from another person. I might think: I want people to think well of me! I want to be recognized for doing my best! Our lives in society flow on like this. But what we really need in life is the connection to other people. The role (役目 *yakume*) of the chaplain is to look on your client as your equal. Perhaps calling this a responsibility (責任 *sekinin*) is over-stating the case.

Now, having said that, I cannot claim to get along with everyone I meet. Of course some personalities match better than others. But, I hope to give them a sense of the warmth that comes from knowing another person cares about them. It takes time and perseverance (辛抱 *shinbō*). When I meet with them, this is what I think is most important.

I cannot control whether or not they will reform (更生 *kōsei*). That is up to them when they get out into society. But I think that if they realize the importance of the warmth that comes from connecting with other people, then they can really think about what it means to be human.

Most of the inmates I meet are on death row, but I also work with normal inmates. These normal inmates will get out and return to society, so I hope they think about the meaning of being in prison. So I try to get to this point, but of course it takes time, and I tell jokes along the way... Whether or not a person has committed a crime, the saddest thing for a human being is loneliness. To have no one to speak to.

Adam: Do you get the impression that people in prison are generally abandoned by society? In that case, is the job of the chaplain to provide human contact?

Hirano: I think so.

Adam: How long have you been working with people on death row?

Hirano: I started out as a chaplain in Shōwa 56 (1981).

I work primarily with people whose death sentences have been confirmed and with people whose cases are being appealed or awaiting confirmation from the supreme court. We have prisons and also detention houses (拘置所 *kōchishō*), and the two are different. There are detention houses in Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka. There are seven detention houses in Japan, and I am at Tokyo Detention House, which is the largest death row in Japan. [Death rows are located in detention houses]. Death row inmates are not the same as regular inmates because they are not serving a sentence designed to rehabilitate them. It can take up to seven years for a death sentence to be carried out after it has been confirmed.

In addition to death row inmates, there are also people serving shorter sentences who do labor at Tokyo Detention House. For the regular inmates, I provide group chaplaincy sessions. For the death row inmates, I provide one-on-one sessions.

Adam: Why did you become a chaplain?

Hirano: I was recommended by Watanabe Fusō! He asked me if I would be willing to serve as a death row chaplain at Tokyo Detention House. We are from the same sect, so I knew him from around.

Adam: What did you think?

Hirano: [laughs]. Honestly, I thought, are you kidding? I was scared! I thought, can I really do this? Working with people who have committed serious felonies? murders? At that time my mother was still alive, but she was ill. She was hospitalized. My father died when I was young, and this was in the Shōwa 50s. It turned out my mother had cancer. I was very upset at that time. We knew she had about a year to live. Honestly, my head was so full of my own concerns at the time. But, in Buddhism, we call this kind of thing a connection (縁 *en*). So I asked my mother for advice. And she said, “You can’t possibly go to such a scary place!” (laughs).

Adam: (laughs). So then you said you would do it?

Hirano: Well, I was asked by my *senpai*, and to an extent I felt glad that he had the confidence in me.

Adam: So when you finally began was your experience different from what you expected?

Hirano: My first session, I went in, and I met a death row inmate in a three or four mat room. A guard came with us too. Actually, I was with Watanabe. It was the two of us. But that first time... what can I say? I suppose I was very nervous. I am sure the inmate could tell I was terrified. Periodically I would have a sudden wave of fear. Of course I had no way to defend myself if something went wrong. The guard were there, but I was basically defenseless, sitting right across from an inmate.

The scene was like this. There was a *butsudan* in the corner. We started by clasping our hands and doing a prayer. And then I returned to the table, and at that moment I had a wave of fear. Just for a moment—it passed.

Adam: I suppose the prison is a scary place.

Hirano: Yes, that's right. The thing is, I had this idea that a death row inmate might try to do something to cause trouble. If they commit a crime while behind bars, then a new trial will start, right? So if they do something to cause a new trial, then the date of their execution could be pushed back! I started to think about this and convinced myself that I was in danger.

Adam: Is there a known case where something like that happened?

Hirano: No, no. Not at all! But I was thinking, if I were him, what would I do? And that's where my fear came from. If I were on death row, maybe I would want to do something to put off my execution!

Adam: It sounds like working with death row inmates is more complex than working with normal inmates. What do you think your clients want from you? Particularly people on death row.

Hirano: I think they are looking for peace of heart (心情の安定 *shinjō no antei*), like it says in the book [points to either the chaplains' manual or Horikawa's book—not clear which one]. That's what the inmates want. This is something that is provided from the perspective of religion. This is what they hope to get from us chaplains. Now, there are certainly problems with the death penalty system, and Horikawa's book presents the perspective of the abolition movement. But nonetheless, the people on death row are looking for some peace. The prison staff cannot engage with the hearts of the inmates (心に入っはいけない *kokoro ni haitte wa ikenai*). So that is what is expected of us religionists.

Adam: So the job of religionists is to support the peace of the hearts of the inmates? Is this a kind of psychological support?

Hirano: In Japan, the relationship between religions and politics is strange. Religionists cannot be state employees, and state employees cannot discuss religion. So, our job is defined as providing support to the hearts of the people on death row. That role is the role of a religionist (宗教家), and chaplains are private volunteers. The government cannot pay religionists for this kind of work.

However, the inmates can make requests for a Buddhist or a Christian chaplain. So the prison is permitted to meet these requests. The whole system works on requests from the inmates (希望教誨 *kibō kyōkai*). This is the law. The country has to acknowledge that there are problems of the heart (心の問題 *kokoro no mondai*), but the government cannot present a Buddhist or a Christian perspective. So, private prison chaplains exist to answer to this need.

Adam: So what do you do in order to meet that need? For example, do you read the *Tannishō* with inmates?

Hirano: Well, we try to talk with people while keeping religion as the backbone for the conversation. Of course there are people in jail who don't know anything about religion. So I might go in and offer to teach about Jōdo Shinshū and Shinran and Buddhism. We might discuss the *Tannishō* or the *Kyōgyō Shinshō*. I might quote these particular texts, but there is no set program of always reading the *Tannishō*.

Adam: So there is a great deal of leeway for the chaplains to talk about different things?

Hirano: Yes, that's right.

Adam: It sounds like people on death row don't have contact with anyone but lawyers and chaplains.

Hirano: That's right, they have no contact with anyone at all.

Adam: I read that prison guards used to be able to talk with death row inmates, but that this practice was abandoned in the 1970s on the grounds that it may disrupt the inmates' peace of mind (精神的な安定 *seishinteki na antei*). I imagine this must reflect the loneliness of people on death row. When they meet you, what do they want to talk about? Do they want to talk about religion? According to Horikawa's book, Watanabe found that many of his clients just wanted to discuss worldly affairs or to engage in small talk.

Hirano: Horikawa has only described things from the Shōwa 30s in that book. You know we have an obligation to maintain secrecy (守秘義務 *shuhi gimu*). Watanabe had the same responsibility, so he asked Horikawa not to publish it until he died, and he asked her to keep the book focused on things that happened a long time ago. She knows a lot more than was published in the book.

Now, in my experience, occasionally people do want to talk about something like the *Tannishō*, but some people just want to talk about baseball. How was the game last

night? Horikawa mentions that Watanabe used to bring books for people, but that's forbidden these days.

Adam: What about religious books, sutras, or a Bible?

Hirano: Yes, those are permitted. We usually read sutras together at the beginning of a chaplaincy session. There are some books that are permitted and some that are not. Religious books are generally permitted. During a chaplaincy session, we are permitted to bring in resources so long as they are not regarded as dangerous. But we are not going to take requests from inmates to bring in certain pamphlets.

Adam: What kinds of sutra literature do you read with the inmates?

Hirano: I always use the same things. I use *the Sanbutsuge*, *Jūseige*, and *Bussetsu Muryō Jukyō*. These are basic scriptures in Jōdo Shinshū. I take small selections and read them together with the inmates. I can't do *Shōshinge* because it takes twenty minutes to read, so unless the inmates request it, I will read a shorter sutra to save more time to talk. *Jūseige* takes about five minutes to read.

Adam: How long do you have with the inmates?

Hirano: Usually individual chaplaincy sessions run for about an hour. The prison considers one hour to be quite long, but the staff are quite understanding with me. I have heard that other chaplains may only have thirty or forty minutes.

Adam: So you begin with a sutra reading and then have a conversation?

Hirano: That's right. They want to talk. They don't have anyone to talk to throughout the day, so usually they have something they want to discuss. If they don't, then I try to raise something to talk about, but it can be difficult to try to raise religious topics with people.

Adam: How many clients do you see?

Hirano: [laughs]. Don't write the number, okay? [redacted]

Adam: Do the clients meet with many chaplains, or only with you?

Hirano: Some meet with many chaplains, and others only with one. I think those who meet with many chaplains don't continue for too long. I think eventually people decide which teaching appeals to them, or they decide which *sensei* they like best, and then they continue with that chaplain.

Adam: I get the sense that chaplains have responsibilities at various levels: to the facility, to the client, to the Union, and to the sect. You mentioned that the facility wants the

chaplain to support the inmate's psychological stability (心情の安定 *shinjō no antei*), but I wonder how you balance this responsibility with the other responsibilities to the sect and the client, for example? [...]

Hirano: When it comes to the balance, sometimes I am left with a feeling of dissatisfaction about my own performance. Of course I am a Shin priest, so if a chaplaincy session ends, if we go one hour and I haven't talked at all about Jōdo Shinshū or Shinran, I do feel disappointed. But I think [doctrine] has to come out naturally in the course of a conversation. For example, we might discuss our understanding of Shinran.

People on death row do not have a tomorrow (明日が^さない *asu ga nai*). You can't say "see you next time." Death row is not that world. If we end without discussing the most important thing together, then I feel like "Oh no, was that okay?" So I have banned myself from using the phrase "We will discuss that next time!" Watanabe Sensei used to say the same thing [he did want to put things off for next time]. Although, recently I have started to feel that it might be okay to try to put off some [important] topics for another session... But then, of course, if I hear that someone has been executed, and I have left something unsaid, I regret it.

I have started to think that even having a conversation about nothing in particular can be a kind of karmic connection (縁 *en*). Of course, if someone wants to hear about *nenbutsu* (念仏), then I am ready to go. But if that doesn't happen, I realize it's not up to me to save someone. There is always a karmic connection (縁 *en*) [to the Buddha]. Even if I can provide someone with a kind of peace (心情の安定 *shinjō no antei*), I certainly don't have the power to save someone. Amida does the saving, not human beings. If

salvation through the power of Amida is assured, then it is not for me to worry about whether or not I have been able to save someone myself.

This is getting a little bit deeper, but are you familiar with the *Tannishō*? Chapter fifteen describes the human desire to die peacefully with a *nenbutsu* prayer on our lips. Long ago, Eirokusuke painted an image called “Dying Peacefully” (畳の上の大往生 *tatami no ue de dai ōjō*). I think this painting reflects the common conception of the ideal death that is discussed in chapter fifteen of the *Tannishō*. [Chapter fifteen deconstructs this natural desire as something that emerges from human ignorance.]

In Buddhism, we have the concept of karma (業 *Gō*). My life does not come from nowhere, it exists in an endless repeating cycle (無限の繰り返し *mugen no kurikaeshi*). Human life did not just arise out of nothing. There is a larger lifespan that continues forever in succession (もと広い命がずうと連続してあるわけ *moto hiroi inochi ga zūto renzoku shitearu wake*). Karmic connections (縁 *en*) to that greater life appear as individual lives. Even the present situation, what we call our reality, is made up of karmic connections (繋が^り *tsunagari*).

Now, there are times when life seems to go our way, and times when it does not. [Chapter fifteen of the *Tannishō* says that] we can’t say that for a person to die peacefully while chanting the *nenbutsu* is proof that they have been saved. Human beings might think so. We tend to think that we want to die peacefully, to die peacefully with a prayer on our lips. This is how people think. But this tendency is precisely what Shinran denies completely.

Shinran says that no matter what, there is a greater life beyond our human existence, and everyone is saved by this greater life. Our ailments, our suffering, our

deaths—these things that come at the end of life are not the problem. They all emerge from our karmic destiny (縁 *en*). Even people who seem to be living a pious life, praying the *nenbutsu* every day—even such people can die in pain. There are many who die in pain; people die—not praying, but cursing their own lives. The point [of chapter fifteen is that] Shinran rejects the idea that the way a person dies reflects the quality of the person. Those who die piously are not necessarily the good. And those who die fighting it are not necessarily evil.

We tend to think that the quality of a person’s death reflects their fate after death, but that is because we do not realize the ultimate truth (真理 *shinri*). That is why I believe in leaving salvation up to the working of Amida. We are fine as we are (そのまま *sono mama de iinda yo*). There is Amida, there is hope, there is salvation. I think all we can do is believe in this. We have to leave it up to Amida. That is the nature of religion. Whether or not people realize it, I have come to believe this is what our human life is. We have to leave some things up to the Buddha.

For me, as a chaplain, I realized [over time] that my clients are not going to come to me to thank me for saving them. They are not going to say, “Oh Hirano, thanks to you I feel totally prepared to head to the gallows!” That is not going to happen. Shinran knew this, and that is why I believe he was a great thinker. He understood that human beings are complacent (自己満足 *jiko manzoku*) and that we try to live by relying on our own judgments (判定 *hantei*) even unto the very last. That’s what I feel as a chaplain. I can’t accomplish anything by my own power. It is not thanks to me that people will be saved. Shinran knew that each human being lives bearing the karma of his own past.

Adam: Is this understanding of chaplaincy not related to the Shin doctrine of salvation of the evil person (悪人正機 *akunin shōki*)? You just mentioned that Shinran's perspective transcends a worldly understanding of good and evil.

Hirano: That's right. Amida wants to save every human being. That is the nature of the primal vow (本願 *hongan*). So, no matter how a person dies, Amida wants to save that person. Now, the way [Shin doctrine] conceives of good and evil differs from the perspective of society at large. The worldly interpretation differs from [the doctrinal meaning of] "salvation of the evil person." In the doctrinal meaning, a "good person" refers to one who believes in the power of the self to attain salvation. The evil person, in this context, means the person who realizes the limited power of the self. [Doctrinally, the person convinced of his or her own goodness is more ignorant than the person who realizes the limitations of the self]. Because of the complex nature of this doctrinal term, I actually avoid using it. I prefer to talk about awakening (自覚 *jikaku*) to the significance of life. I think the aim is to realize that there is the external force of the primal vow working (本願の働き *hongan no hataraki*) for the salvation of human beings.

Adam: I get the impression that this doctrinal perspective you mentioned is related to your approach to counseling. You mentioned that you have to treat your client as an equal. It seems that the perspective on humanity we see in Shinran implies a kind of equality. He thinks that the difference between the good and the evil is a false distinction. But this differs from the interpretation of the human that dominates in the law, no? Does not the law make a clear distinction between the good and the evil?

Hirano: Yes. That's right. Society must be that way. In the end, our life in society is not designed for the salvation of the individual person. If society does not make a distinction between good and evil, it cannot survive. This is the social life of humanity. At the basis is the idea that society requires stability. That is why we need the law. There is nothing we can do about it.

But then again, we have the teaching of Buddha. Life is suffering. Of course life is tough! Or course it is hard! We cannot make the world equal through the power of the law. Why? It will not work because the law is made by human beings, and everything made by human beings changes over time. Even the law changes over time, right? It changes because it is something made by human beings. Law changes to suit the times. Reality (真実 *shinjitsu*) or the truth (真理 *shinri*), these do not change. For example, love (愛 *ai*) in Christianity, or mercy (慈悲 *jihi*) in Buddhism. It would be strange to claim that these change! "When your Dad was around it wasn't like this! We were not doing the *nenbutsu*! The scriptures used to be different!" That could not be because the truth does not change.

It is because the truth does not change that the teachings provide us with a sense of stability (安心感 *anshinkan*). Think about it. If your home town changed, you wouldn't want to go back, right? The mountains remain the same, the river remains the same, and even some of your friends stay around. In the same way, the truth (真理 *shinri*) doesn't change. The things made by human beings are subject to change.

Adam: Do you have this conversation with your clients?

Hirano: I do.

Adam: How do they respond?

Hirano: The response changes by the person. Some say they have never heard or considered such things. For example, some say they have never considered that their situation arises from an unequal society. They might say “so that is why I hate such and such a person! The world is not a perfect place, and so it is not purely my fault that I have committed a crime.” I try to get them to consider the idea that there is a world not entirely defined by profit and loss (損得 *sontoku*) or by good and evil (善悪 *zen'aku*).

I tell them about myself too. I tell them that I used to fight with my parents [as a young man]. In my heart, I even became so angry sometimes that I wanted to kill them! (laughs). I tell them that sometimes when I am overwhelmed, I cry. If you are going to have a completely open interaction with someone, then it is like you are both naked (laughs). In order to do this kind of counseling, I have to put myself out there too. That is the role of the counselor (カウンセラーの立場 *kaunseraa no tachiba*).

So one cannot begin with the idea that people in prison are fundamentally different from yourself. I try to begin by acknowledging that the same things that trouble them have troubled me. And not just in the past tense! I think it is important to be able to say such things.

Adam: I imagine that people on death row do not have many people around them who recognize their humanity. They do not meet many people, and they don't have anyone to rely on. It must be one of the important roles for the chaplain to provide this kind of human connection.

Hirano: [inhales deeply]. Yes. That's right.

[...]

Adam: There is one last thing. What do you make of the previous chaplains who were prosecuting thought criminals? How does that look now?

Hirano: This is how history moves (それは歴史の流れですよ *sore wa rekishi no nagare desu yo*). At one time, things are open, and then later repressive. And then, when things open up again, we can look back critically on the past.

Abbreviations

- JJRS *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*
 JRJ *Journal of Religion in Japan*
 KGKK Watanabe Kakumu, ed. 1892-3. *Kangoku kyōkai*.
 Tōkyō: Dai Nihon Kangoku Kyōkai Tsūshinsho.
 KKHN Kyōkai hyakunenhensan iinkai ed., 1973-4
Kyōkai hyakunen (two volumes). Kyōto: Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha and
 Ōtani-ha
 KK Keimu kyōkai shihō hogo jigyo kenkyūsho, ed. 1926-1939 *Kyōkai kenkyū*.
 Tōkyō: Keimu kyōkai shihō hogo jigyo kenkyūsho.
 KKHG Keimu kyōkai shihō hogo jigyo kenkyūsho, ed. 1939–1943. *Kyōkai to
 Hogo*. Tōkyō: Keimu kyōkai shihō hogo jigyo kenkyūsho.
 KSDJ *Kokushi daijiten*, accessed through JapanKnowledge.com:
 Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Databases,
<http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.eresource:japanknr>.
 NBKJ Nakamura Hajime, ed. 1985. *Bukkyōgo daijiten (shukusatsuban)*. Tōkyō:
 Tōkyō shoseki.
 NKGS Keimu Kyōkai, ed. 1974. *Nihon kinsei gyōkei shi kō* (two volumes).
 Tōkyō: Keimu Kyōkai.
 NKKS Nishi Honganji and Higashi Honganji, ed. 1927. *Nihon kangoku kyōkaishi*.
 Kyōto: Shinshū Honganji-ha Honganji, Shinshū Ōtani-ha Honganji.
 NKRJ Nihon Kirisutokyō Rekishi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, ed. 1988. *Nihon
 Kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten*. Tōkyō: Kyōbunkan.
 OBKJ Oda Tokunō ed., 1981. *Bukkyō daijiten*. Tōkyō: Meichō fukyūkai.
 PDB Lopez, Donald S., and Buswell, Robert E., ed. 2014. *The Princeton
 Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
 SJ Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūjo ed. *Shintō jiten*, Tōkyō:
 Kōbunkan, 1993.
 SSDJ Sonoda Minoru and Hashimoto Masanori, ed. 2004, *Shintōshi daijiten*.
 Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
 SSKS Chūgoku Chihō Kyōkaishi Renmei, ed. 1986. *Shiryō shūkyō kyōkaishi*.
 Hiroshima: Chūgoku Chihō Kyōkaishi Renmei.
 TKJT Tenri Daigaku fuzoku oyasato kenkyūsho, ed. 1997. *Tenrikyō jiten*. Tenri:
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